The Forum

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THE LIBERAL PARTY IN ENGLAND.

It has been said that the Liberal party has been ruined by two great Liberal leaders — that Mr. Chamberlain began the ruin by deserting to the enemy, with the plans of campaign in his pocket, and that Lord Rosebery cast his party into outer darkness, because he would throw away the old lamps and put in new lamps of his own.

The general election just completed has not annihilated the Liberal party, but it has demonstrated its impotence. In this paper an attempt is made, from behind the scenes, to make the real operative causes of the collapse intelligible to others. Mr. Chamberlain is not an adept in asking too much. He never expected to wipe out Liberalism. He wished to stop the pendulum, and has succeeded. The pessimists go further, and those who hate Liberal ideas are naturally exultant. They believe they have at last got everything their own way. They have captured the press; they have misled the proletariate; they have "rushed" the sober middle class with dazzling dreams of ever expanding markets. If free speech is not bludgeoned to silence, as in the crisis of the war fever, men are still being cowed into insincere compromise with conscience. Parliamentary independence has been crushed to order. Parliamentary morality has been dulled to lower standards of personal honor. A scene such as that last February, when Mr. Chamberlain was solemnly whitewashed by his party after declining to face the inquiry or to produce the documents which would establish his guilt or innocence, left the worst impression on those who love the House of Commons.

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The manipulation of "world-politics" by great financial "bosses" seems assured. At no period since the Stuart Restoration has reaction achieved such victory over the freedom and sincerity of thought and action. From the current press, and from the chatter of club smoking rooms, the dodo is not more extinct than the Englishmen of the days of Kossuth or Mazzini, or the Englishmen who rose in their might to denounce the Bulgarian massacres of 1876, or even the Englishmen in whose hearts five years ago the almost dying appeal of the greatest Englishman of the age aroused an echo of the old sentiments over the ghastly horrors of Armenia. The cynicism of Rudyard Kipling seems to rule supreme; and in such an atmosphere Liberalism cannot thrive.

May not the South African war have been a "wire-puller's" as well as a "capitalist's" war? According to our witty diarist, Mr. George Russell, this very trick was foreseen five years ago by an old parliamentary hand. "It is always difficult for an opposition to oppose a government conducting a war; and our friend Chamberlain is the very man to take advantage of that."

There was motive enough. People forget that fifteen months ago speech after speech from government benches admitted a Liberal victory to be more than probable. No such overwhelming evidence of growing distrust of a ministry had been known for half a century. The great Unionist victory of 1895, with its majority of 152 seats, had been won, the London "Times" calculated, by the conversion of about one Liberal in every nineteen to Unionist views. But the votes given between 1895 and 1899 in forty-three constituencies in Great Britain — not including Ireland — that had been contested at the general election of 1895 and at by-elections subsequently showed a transfer not of one in nineteen, or 5 per cent, but of one in thirteen, or 7.5 per cent, from the Unionist to the Liberal side. And the biggest gains had been in the great urban and suburban constituencies, where Liberalism had been weakest for years. A wave like this spread over the whole country would have meant a Liberal majority over both the Unionist and the Irish. Its rushing volume increased the popular dislike of a ministry that forgot the Old Age Pensions in their election addresses of 1895, and emptied the national till into the pockets of the privileged classes.

Mr. Chamberlain knew what it meant, and that a "frontal attack" on a disappointed people, visibly preparing to belabor a discredited Ministry, as a South Sea islander whips his gods when

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things go wrong, was out of the question. A diplomatic triumph, a war which stirs the blood and adds to the possessions of England, and an election snapped while the fever still raged formed the congenial strategy. To make assurance surer, Mr. Chamberlain added to the issue the disfranchisement of about 10 to 15 per cent of the electorate, taking the election in the very last month of the old register.[1]

As regards the Liberals two points are plain. The party, as a whole, failed ignominiously to play the strong cards as to the war. Petty details as to hospitals and commissariat and such episodes as the Spion Kop despatches were taken up instead of the deeper issues of national policy. The fact is that contradictory conceptions of right and duty paralyzed action. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman gave an intelligible lead which three rank and file Liberals out of four throughout the country would have followed if Sir Edward Grey and Sir Henry Fowler had not thwarted him by diametrically opposite teaching.

At the beginning of the session of 1900 the opposition front bench came together over Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice's amendment to the address condemning both the policy and the conduct of the war, only to have the logical bottom of their fighting formula knocked out by Sir Edward Grey. The great meetings of the National Liberal Federation at Nottingham, in March, saw the splendid triumph of the anti-war Liberals on the first day, and the subsequent betrayal of the party to the jingoes.

Mr. Herbert Gladstone, who succeeded the late Thomas Ellis as chief Opposition whip, and was then hailed as the coming savior of his party, has been successful in nothing except in getting candidates who are better capitalists than politicians. Instead of organizing his party to fight the Tories on their war policy, he has been out of tune with his leader, and out of tune with himself. For the first time in political history the chief whip of a great party opened the campaign with an apology for its existence, with the singular plea that it expected no majority, and that it had no alternative ministry and no policy to offer to the country.

But, and this is my second point, with such divisions and such tactics, with the whole press of the country — with two or three exceptions — against them, and with the old Liberal journals reducing the

[1] Note that the new register in Scotland came into force on November 1. If, like the English register, the Scotch came in force in January, can we doubt that the election might have been at the end of November, instead of two months earlier?

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Liberal position to a logical *impasse*, in the impossible task of at once approving and condemning the Chamberlain policy, the wonder is that Liberals did even as well as they did. The pluck and pertinacity of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the fiery invective of Sir William Harcourt, and the dash and sound logic of candidates who fought, not to lose, but to win, gave some chance. The result and figures are an eloquent testimony that, after all, there is a staunch army of Liberals in the country who might have done better, might conceivably have won victory even at this election if led on intelligible principles and for intelligible objects.

The summary of the London "Times" shows that the totals for Great Britain were 2,055,951 Liberal votes as against 2,360,852 Unionist votes, or a majority of 304,901 votes. The similar totals of 1895 had been 2,019,755 Liberal votes, as against 2,266,948 Unionist votes, or a majority of 247,193. In the metropolitan area the increase of the Unionist majority was more striking, but the general result was a drawn battle. In 1895 and in 1900 the distribution of political force was such that a wholly disproportionate number of seats went to the winning side. In 1895 the Unionists should have had a majority of 14 instead of 152, in strict proportion to their voting strength, and in the present election the strict proportion would have given the Unionists a majority of 22 instead of 134. Though this unexpected operation of the Redistribution Act seriously handicaps the Liberal party, it is clear that the tendency here, as in the United States, is to an equilibrium, and the problem of the present and of the future is how to draw in the floating vote.

What is it that wins or loses with the British democracy? Reviewing the past fifteen years, sentiment still counts for much; criticism, unceasing, mordant, corrosive, disintegrating, counts for more; and programmes of tangible boons count for much less than either. Thus, in 1885, criticism robbed the Liberals of their old borough supporters, while in the counties the sentiment of the new voters carried all before it. They voted Liberal not to get "three acres and a cow," but in the mere joy of freedom.

In the Liberal rally of 1892 the real motive power lay in the generous altruism of giving Home Rule to Ireland roused by the fervid eloquence of Mr. Gladstone, and in the longing for free self-government, for the emancipation of labor, for the popular control of education. It was the victory of a democracy fully conscious of hopes and duties, and instinct with sympathy for brother democrats.

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For such a creed a majority not of 40, but of five times 40, was wanted. Stubborn loyalty kept up the struggle even for a year after the great mainspring — Mr. Gladstone's personality — was withdrawn. But it was a hopeless struggle. Privilege and class interests are too strongly entrenched. Things are now even worse than they were. The monopolies are banded together as never before. The Church, the gin palace, and the Stock Exchange are the eager instruments of the most selfish and inaccessible oligarchy that has ever ruled England. It is idle to point to the alleged unpopularity of Home Rule as a cause of this state of things. Home Rule has been a pretext, just as Krugerism has been a pretext, for the better organization of the rich and powerful to get their own way and appropriate everything.

So, in the Parliament of 1892–1895, what mattered it whether Tory criticism was honest or dishonest? They held the key of the House of Lords. Their tactics were ready to hand. They could give point to their criticism with facts. They could taunt the Liberal Ministry with "bringing in bills they never meant to pass," and prove their point by obstructing the bills in the Commons and killing them in the Lords. And this political dynamite won the victory of 1895 far more than the pitiful and unmeaning items of Mr. Chamberlain's "social programme," not one of which had a grain of influence except old age pensions. The people lost faith because they saw that the Liberals were helpless against the Lords.

And the most effective stimulant to this Tory criticism was the ill luck — to himself as much as to the party — which thrust Lord Rosebery into Mr. Gladstone's vacant place in 1894. Lord Rosebery has not the faith which moves mountains. He is no cynic, but he is almost morbidly sceptical. No one could see more distinctly the real mischief which was paralyzing Liberalism. Few men could have blundered so badly in setting about its mitigation. In summing up at Scarborough, in the autumn of 1895, the causes of the Liberal defeat at that general election, Lord Rosebery, naturally enough, did not include his own leadership. Others have not been so lenient.

Lord Rosebery has been unlucky enough never to have had the wholesome discipline of up-hill fighting. Whether from distrust or distaste, he has held aloof from party work in bad times. To the marvellous efforts of Mr. Gladstone, Sir William Harcourt, and Mr. Morley to build up a new Liberal majority after the defeat in 1886 Lord Rosebery's contributions were few and insignificant. A de-

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lightful speaker at non-political gatherings, animated by the spirit of Imperial responsibilities, still more delightful as a critic, handling with sympathy and insight the strong and playful humanity of Burns, or the breadth and intellectual ascendency of Pitt, or the passive, relentless, and sensitive power of Cromwell, his strictly party speeches, though in many instances forcible, in some cases more than forcible, have as often as not struck a note which has puzzled and weakened his party. If Cromwell as an irresistible force attracts Lord Rosebery, he has always found something uncongenial in that grim Cromwellian earnestness which, after all, has been far more the real lever of Liberalism than the active intervention of the great Whig fanatics who think they made Liberalism as well as their own fortunes.

Half a dozen versions have been given of Lord Rosebery's advent to power. The real story was frankly told by Lord Tweedmouth after the Rosebery resignation in 1896. Lord Rosebery was not suggested by Mr. Gladstone, or imposed by a Court intrigue. He was compelled "against his own better judgment" by the "pressure of the majority of the Cabinet" to accept the Premiership.

The secret of the failure of his great *coup* was that he saw that his chance was gone before he set to work. The real chance for scoring against the Lords was at the end of 1893. The Lords had just rejected the Home Rule bill, had struck the linch pin from the Employers' Liability bill, had mangled the Parish and District Councils bill out of recognition, and had even been rash enough to defy the House of Commons in its most precious constitutional prerogative by claiming a joint right to decide questions of local taxation. Doubtful as was the popularity of Home Rule even then, the Lords had gone some way toward "filling the cup" by these cumulative challenges to the House of Commons. Mr. Gladstone, with unerring instinct, pressed on his colleagues the wisdom of instant dissolution. He might have won. At worst, a commanding Liberal minority would have beaten down the Tories and regained power long before now. And such an election would have given actuality to Lord Rosebery's war cry.

An impetuous preference for bold tactics wrecked Mr. Gladstone and his party in 1886, when he staked all on carrying Home Rule by a *coup de main*, and lost. But in 1893 he alone kept his head. His cabinet, like limpets, clung to place. Frequent elections are ruinous to poor men. Besides, there was the young "leader," with his

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group of admirers. And so the Liberal party lost at one stroke its biggest force and its fairest chance.

In that wise and beautiful speech in March, 1894, before he gently and silently passed behind the Speaker's chair, and was seen no more in Parliament, Mr. Gladstone naturally dwelt on the power of the Lords as the issue on which the Liberal future depended. But he left no orders, open or sealed, for a "forlorn hope." That unwisdom, like many others, was left to Mr. Labouchere, an incisive and sarcastic speaker, but an infelicitous tactician, a man who will leave behind him the reputation of having weakened more than one good cause by maladroit advocacy. And the irony of the situation has been that, without perceiving it, Lord Rosebery in 1894 took his cue, not from Mr. Gladstone, but from the man who has never left off lampooning the peer premier.

Lord Rosebery did exactly what he was not expected to do. He was to be the strong man to rally the social forces to the Gladstonian creed, broad in sympathy, cautious in action. But instead of recalling the words, "their strength is to sit still," he showed from the outset of his short and brilliant career as Prime Minister a sensitiveness and an impulsiveness almost electric. He could not let events ripen. He must forthwith strike his one distinctive note. So, within four months, he "plunged" and staked everything at Bradford in declaring war, and a war instant, unrelenting, traceless, against the Lords. He pledged his party to a fight that put aside every other question, and a fight that must be fought to a finish. Unhappily, it was not fought to a finish. Hearty support came only from the very Radicals who had opposed his selection.

Why was the Bradford campaign so ludicrous a fiasco?

It was attributed by press apologists, like all other evils, to the malevolence of Sir William Harcourt. It would be fairer to say that the smash would not have been so great if Lord Rosebery's colleagues as a body had staked their all with him, and gone straight to the country on the issue.

The real trouble was not only that the occasion had flown, but that Lord Rosebery had never clearly thought out his campaign. It has been his frequent ill luck to have to explain his own speeches. When the leader of a great party attempts what he admits to be a "revolution," he is doubly bound to be intelligible. But from one great meeting to another, till the catastrophe in June, 1895, there was a zigzag of apologies, reaffirmations, shiftings of ground, till the campaign was

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lost in a chaos of confusion, and the central idea, which was to emancipate Liberalism and Progress, was smothered like a damp squib, unillumined and unilluminating. Such a campaign filled the quivers of Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour with pointed shafts. It was all a great pity. Lord Rosebery hoped to rescue his party. He and the party paid the penalty of his effort to do the right thing at the wrong time and in the wrong way.

Some people will always think Sir William Harcourt might have done better. The "young and energetic stage manager," in Mr. Balfour's pungent phrase, "meant to hiss the old pieces off the stage." To Irish Nationalists and English Radicals the ousting of Harcourt meant the ousting of the advanced policy. Sir William stood for continuity in the ideas the men of 1892 had fought and won for. Anyhow, the split between the new leader and the old lieutenant who had lost his promotion has done as much as anything to wreck the party. Sir William was lukewarm about the Bradford manifesto. Lord Rosebery, it is rumored, circularized his Cabinet against the graduated taxation of the Finance Act of 1894. It is a pity that each did not help the other, and it is a pity that the split cost us both.

Even now it is worth while, for our purpose, to measure the potentiality of Harcourt as a factor in the future. His Finance Act was the only big thing done by a Liberal since the county franchise. And, in the striking speech at the dinner given him at the close of that session to commemorate the budget, Sir William Harcourt stands out as the logical and moral iconoclast of privileged interests:

> "The rich and noble clamored for big navies and vast expenditure, but whined at having to pay their share. Landlords would not pay, because they were too poor; brewers, because they were too rich. The great land owners claimed a divine right of exemption from the load of ordinary mortals. The Duke of Devonshire might threaten to shift his new burdens to his poor dependents; he might threaten to reverse the Finance Act! But reforms like that are never reversed."

And, again:

> "The real motive for the running away of the Liberal Unionists was the dread of progressive ideas; they shrank from the advent of equal justice; they went away sorrowing because they had great possessions. It was the whole gamut of the Liberal creed that jarred on their nerves."

Again, Sir William's effort in 1896 to rally a broken party struck the same note. Liberal principles have rarely been stated with more daring force and concentrated precision than in his unanswered and unanswerable exposure of the "Doles" policy and of the unjust working of the English land system. These are some of his good

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points. His defects and blunders are as easy to find as those of Lord Rosebery or any other leader. If Lord Rosebery failed against the Lords, did not Sir William equally fail in his tilt against the brewers?

Both men are handled here without reserve, because their differences did not lie merely in a feud between rival ambitions, but sprang from vital and essential divergencies in national policy.

After the resignation of Sir William Harcourt, in 1898, and the letters which passed between him and Mr. Morley, so much became public property that the real facts can now be fairly given, and are essential to our purpose, as they go to the root of Liberal difficulties.

Before 1895 incompatibility of temper is all that need be noted. The real mischief began after the general election, when the Liberal leaders were invited to meet at Lord Spencer's to discuss future policy. Lord Rosebery's reply (communicated to Sir William as well as to Lord Spencer) was that he could never again be associated with Sir William Harcourt on political action. Their relations had long been merely official, and the essential differences between them as to general policy were so profound that the attempt to work together must be abandoned, if Lord Rosebery was to take any further part in Liberal politics.

This step has led to all the rest. Sir William was in possession, and, naturally, would not be "warned off the course." As Mr. Morley wrote, there was not an "unworthy insinuation" as to his action which he could not have "blown to atoms" at any moment. But there was friction, if not active disloyalty, on the front opposition bench. Sir William's Radical speeches on the land question in the debates of 1896 were boycotted by the Liberal Publication Department, then, as now, under Rosebery influence.

But Sir William gave a fighting lead which was enthusiastically followed by the Liberal rank and file in the House. His striking success, and the growing agitation to rescue the Armenians, culminating in Mr. Gladstone's passionate appeal for intervention, were the direct precursors of Lord Rosebery's sudden resignation in October, 1896. The arguments of the brilliant resignation speech at Edinburgh are irreconcilable with the protests Lord Rosebery himself had made a few months before against Lord Salisbury's inaction. It occurred to many that Lord Rosebery had snatched at an excuse to escape from an irksome position. The chief interest of the Edinburgh apology was the frank admission that a peer premiership was unworkable.

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Incessant attempts — some generous and open, others interested and underhand — have been made to get Lord Rosebery back. He has given no clear sign, but has kept friends and critics in suspense. What is more noteworthy is that those behind the scenes have again and again appealed to Lord Rosebery to withdraw the letter of "proscription." But it would appear that, so far, Lord Rosebery has proved an irreconcilable. And, when the veil has been lifted slightly — as at a dinner last year at the City Liberal Club — it would seem that, if he ever comes back, it must be with a clean slate, from which the old ideas and policies have been sponged off. Now, no man is necessary. To be of use, the best and strongest must understand his environment, and work through and by and not against the forces that make his work possible at all. Will Lord Rosebery ever be allowed by his fervent but unwise admirers to learn this simple lesson?

As it is, the bottom facts of the Liberal deadlock have been that Lord Rosebery's return to the party in any capacity — by his own admission his return as Prime Minister is out of the question — has been put out of reach, and that the leaderships of Sir William Harcourt and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman have been, each in turn, gravely weakened by the persistent intrigues of a small clique and by an insidious campaign of detraction, while Parliamentary discipline has been shattered by acts of frequent disloyalty, in which even some of the recognized chiefs of the opposition have shared.

The general body of Liberals, in the House and in the National Liberal Federation, were ready to give Sir William hearty and loyal support. If he had ignored the transparent intrigue which deprived him in 1897 of the full recognition of his leadership, which organized Liberalism was ready to accord him at the Norwich meetings, and if he had played a strong game for the democratic policy of which the Finance Act and his Land Reform speeches had made him the spokesman, he might, in the opinion of the present writer, have made himself the irresistible leader of the greatest wave of Radical sentiment this country has ever seen. The real reasons for his failure throw the clearest light on the things that handicap Liberal action.

First stands the poverty of the party. To have tackled the intriguers would have alienated Liberal capitalists, most of whom clung to Lord Rosebery. These men did not love Sir William after his budget. Next, the advanced Radical and labor movement was tinged with a socialism of which Sir William, the best equipped economic reasoner in the House, instinctively fought shy. Again, Lord Salis-

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bury's blunders in China seemed to give a new weapon to Liberals, and popularized for the moment the arguments of an impatient imperialism, with which Sir William had no sympathy, and so weakened his hold on many members. And last, but far from least, the disheartening fiasco of the South African Committee appointed to inquire into the Jameson raid — a betrayal of constitutional duty still unexplained, for all the apologies are visibly insufficient — knocked the heart out of his leadership by apparently severing him for the moment from his warmest friends and supporters. How was it that the telegrams ordered to be produced were allowed to be suppressed, and that the plain duty of punishing those who suppressed them was ignored, with some sort of assent from Sir William Harcourt, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and other Liberals? Many conjectures have been made as to the secret which is behind this action of the committee, and the failure of the Liberals to challenge the decision.

But there are some points in this connection which at least suggest further investigation by Liberals. Mr. Rochfort Maguire, Mr. Rhodes's right hand man, and a man of vast wealth, suddenly became a Parnellite member in 1890. In the present election he was suddenly sprung upon the electors of East Leeds as a brand new Liberal Imperialist candidate. That is one point, but there are others. Mr. B. F. Hawksley, Mr. Rhodes's solicitor, not only became a member of the Reform club and the "Eighty club," where he could influence the opinion of the party, but is actually, it is now stated, one of the executive committee of the Central Liberal Association in Parliament street, or one of the inner circle which manages the party fund and controls the party candidatures. Adding to this the fact that Mr. Cecil Rhodes himself wound up his recent visit to England at the Durdans as the guest of Lord Rosebery, there is some material ready to hand for those who may hazard further conjectures.

Anyhow, Sir William Harcourt lost heart, and so lost his chance. The climax came in the Soudan expedition and Lord Rosebery's eager intervention in the Fashoda episode. Sir William, in his turn, seized on the occasion to withdraw from "a position, the duties of which it was made impossible for him to fulfil." There was no visible outlet. The letter of "perpetual proscription" shut the door, and the place was diligently made too hot to hold him by feeding the burning, fiery furnace of Imperialism. He was glad at last to set himself free to strike once more — with Mr. John Morley, its most brilliant and consistent advocate — that note of self-restraint and con-

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science in public affairs which had made the great period of Liberalism. The struggle thus passed from persons to principles, and it is significant to note that while the bye-elections of 1898 were fought mainly on the issue of Lord Salisbury's weak and nerveless foreign policy, the great wins of 1899 were got on the old programme of peace and retrenchment, and home reforms, like the taxation of ground values and the housing of the people.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, a shrewd man, combining Scottish "pawkiness," sound judgment, high culture, and sincere loyalty to the Gladstonian traditions, was selected as leader, it is supposed on the suggestion of Lord Spencer, with the obvious intention of making bridges for everybody and of arriving at a *modus vivendi* between the men of economy and peace and the Imperialist section of the party. The sound, kindly, loyal Liberals welcomed his lead. They hated the feuds of the past few years, and have done their best to have the party weapons turned against the common ememy. The new spirit ran like wildfire from the House to the constituencies, and contributed to win the great victories of June and July, 1899, in the bye-elections in Edinburgh and Oldham. A Liberal majority and a Liberal Ministry, with the genial and just Sir Henry at it head, daily came more within range.

But this very success set the intrigues going again. Sir Henry was pounced upon for daring to vote with Mr. Morley in condemnation of the Soudan policy, though he was acting with absolute consistency with former votes. His criticism of Mr. Chamberlain's diplomacy and Transvaal policy has, from the outset, been eagerly seized upon by the Imperialists to try to elbow out the new leader as they had elbowed out his predecessor. Two of his own whips have voted against him, some of his colleagues have tried to overrule him. In fact, more has been done, if possible, to weaken his position than in the case of Sir William Harcourt. The gossip of Edinburgh gives a clue. It is rumored that hope has run high, among Lord Rosebery's friends, that a clean sweep might be made at the general election of the "Radical rump," and that when they were disposed of all would go well for their ideas. To this, force is added by the fact that the Central Liberal Association has tried to press Imperialist candidates on the constituencies, and is reported, in one or two cases, to have fomented shabby intrigues to set local associations against sitting members who had dared to think for themselves and oppose the South African war.

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These schemes have been frustrated. Sir Henry never stood higher than after his services in the recent campaign. With one or two notable exceptions, the more decided anti-war Liberals have got back, in some cases with increased majorities. Mr. Perks, a recent addition to the wealthy Nonconformists in the House, who knows more about company promoting than politics, with one or two unknown lieutenants have erected themselves into an "Imperialist Council" to prescribe a policy and to "drum out" everybody who does not bow the knee to Jingo. They have been promptly snubbed into silence by Sir Henry, who clearly means to have no nonsense in the party if he can help it. It is hard to see why Mr. Perks and his friends should have done Lord Rosebery this sorry unkindness, when he is still smarting under the sting of having his own manifesto set aside, and his chosen Imperialist candidate, Captain Hedworth Lambton — the man who had saved Ladysmith and was now to save the Liberal party — promptly "snowed under" at Newcastle by a Conservative majority of 4,609!

This, then, is the present situation. The Liberal party has been deprived of a great victory, at one time nearly within reach, partly by Mr. Chamberlain's Khaki election and grand disfranchisement juggle, and partly through the dislocation of normal party action, by the erratic course of Lord Rosebery, and by the ceaseless intrigues of his Imperialist friends to cripple and destroy any other possible leader. Unity of action must, the figures of the polls demonstrate, win a Liberal victory in the end; but unity of action is still "proscribed," like Sir William Harcourt. *Aut Cæsar, aut nullus!*

It is to be feared that the Liberals will return to the House next February more intent on a trial of their own strength than on trying conclusions with the enemy. It is hard to predict the result. On the one hand is a graceful, imposing personality, a brilliant writer and speaker, a man of immense wealth, who has attached to him a circle of wealthy men, who is backed by the press of both parties, supported in the House by a few men of striking ability, with a creed all the more attractive because it is so imperfectly understood, with dreams of places, power, and promotion for young and ambitious Liberals in the House and country, and with the unpleasant, sordid side of commercial imperialism wrapped out of sight by a sympathetic though autocratic strain of socialism. That looks like winning, and it has vast and somewhat brutal forces for its support.

On the other side, though some of the leaders are way-worn and

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broken, and the creed of austere self-restraint seems an anachronism in modern society, there are two vast groups of forces which have to be reckoned with, and which look like a formidable counterpoise to the Jingo cult. There is the one great, undeniable law of Liberal thought that there is a national conscience, and that the secret of Liberal triumphs in the past has been the assertion that morality holds for the nation as well as for the individual. No one who has really worked among the stalwarts of Liberalism in the Midlands or the north of England or in Wales can doubt that this is the corner-stone of the faith which makes Liberal victories possible by keeping these stalwarts what they are.

Then there is the law of reaction, of the common prudence of the people against financial extravagance. This law will operate with tremendous force in the coming months of rising taxation and falling trade, and will stimulate a wave of exasperation against this government and all its ways.

The simplest and most obvious reason why the scales must turn the Liberal tactics against the Imperialists is that the Ministry must be fought, if Liberals are to do anything, and that it can best be fought by a direct challenge of the Jingo spirit, which has brought with it this enormous and unbearable waste of national resources. The Liberal Imperialist stands on an illogical and slippery footing. The facts will fight him down little by little, and a rational Liberalism, welcoming the close attachment of the Colonies, but steadfastly opposing further expansion, and demanding the concentration of policy and revenue, alike in completing the equipment and in insuring the solid welfare of the British people at home, will win its way to victory at the next election.

There is no reason why Lord Rosebery and other brilliant men who now seem opposed to this solution should not join heartily in the work and its results. But they will have to learn the conditions under which this union and this triumph can be won with the forces available. Whether Liberals, then, will be able to roll away the great stone Lord Rosebery tried to roll away in vain, and whether they can hold power when they have got it, is a far-off problem.

AN ENGLISH LIBERAL.

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PANAMA AND NICARAGUA CANALS COMPARED.

THE problem of connecting the oceans by a waterway across the American isthmus has attracted the attention of the world ever since the existence of the isthmus became known. Various routes have been advocated from time to time, but none has been surveyed except the two known as the Panama and Nicaragua routes.

The Panama route, though not the narrowest part of the isthmus, has a natural harbor on each coast, with a depression in the backbone of the cordillera only 363 feet above sea level. These natural advantages led to the construction, in 1851, of the Panama Railway, from Colon on the Caribbean to Panama on the Pacific, to accommodate the heavy traffic induced by the discovery of gold in California. In 1878 De Lesseps inaugurated his celebrated attempt to cut a sea-level canal through here, without having made any adequate estimate of the cost, or even of the physical obstructions to be overcome. A large amount of work was actually done, the canal having been practically completed for seven miles on its northern end, and quantities of heavy excavation were made in the upper and southern portions of the route. The sums actually subscribed and put into this work are variously stated at more or less than $260,000,000, not more than one-fifth of which is represented by actual construction, the balance having been squandered in corruption and reckless extravagance. The scandals occasioned thereby led to the bankruptcy of the company and the suspension of the work.

On the reorganization of the company a balance of about $20,000,000 remained available for surveys and construction. The new company very wisely sought the advice of a committee, known as the Comité Technique, composed of fourteen eminent engineers, of whom seven were French, the others being selected from Germany, England, Russia, Colombia, and the United States. Our own country was represented by Gen. Henry L. Abbot, U. S. A., and Alphonse Ftelley, chief engineer of the New York Aqueduct Commission. Under the direction of the Comité Technique more complete surveys were made;

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the sea-level plan was abandoned; and plans were drawn up for a lock canal, to be supplied with water from reservoirs to be constructed on the Chagres River. A small force is, and has been for several years, at work on construction.

The same influence which prompted the construction of the Panama Railway led to the establishment of a transit route across Nicaragua, partly by water and partly by stage road, and surveys for a ship canal along this route were made by the transit company, and afterwards by the United States Government, under Commander Lull. Later the Maritime Canal Company modified the plans, extended the surveys, and began construction on a ship canal. Financial difficulties, however, stopped the work before it was fairly under way, and agitation was carried on for some years to induce the United States Government to finance the project.

In 1895 Congress provided for a board of engineers to ascertain the feasibility, permanence, and cost of the canal, and appropriated the sum of $20,000 for the purpose. Col. William Ludlow, of the Army; Civil Engineer M. T. Endicott, of the Navy, and Mr. Alfred Noble, were appointed by President Cleveland to constitute it. Considering the time and funds at their disposal this board made a very thorough examination of the route. They reported that while the canal was feasible, the information possessed by the company was entirely inadequate to serve as a basis on which to make final estimates of cost, or even to determine approximate plans. They recommended, therefore, that an appropriation of $350,000 be made for further surveys and investigation. Accordingly, a commission was appointed by President McKinley, consisting of Rear-Admiral J. G. Walker, Col. Peter C. Hains, and Lewis M. Haupt, for the further survey and examination of the canal route.

This commission inaugurated thorough surveys, which demonstrated the impracticability of certain features of the company's plans. In 1899, before the commission's work was completed, Congress provided for increasing it, and appropriated funds for the thorough examination, survey, and comparison of *all* the possible routes for an interoceanic canal across the isthmus. The engineering portion of the commission was reinforced by Colonel O. H. Ernst, Alfred Noble, George S. Morison, and William H. Burr. Prof. Emory R. Johnson and Hon. Samuel Pasco were appointed as experts on the commercial and political aspects of the problem, respectively. Explorations were made of the lower isthmus, east and south of Panama,

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which added largely to the topographic information there, but failed to reveal any favorable canal route; so that the problem was finally narrowed down to a comparison of the Panama and Nicaragua routes.

The route adopted by the Nicaragua Canal Commission in 1899 starts near Greytown, on the Caribbean, runs in a general southwesterly direction across the swamps and lowlands, north of Lake Silico, along the San Juanillo, through two locks, reaching the left bank of the San Juan River above the head of the San Juanillo, about twenty miles from Greytown. It then follows near the left bank of the river, but not in it, to a point about a mile above the mouth of Rio San Carlos. A high dam near this point will raise the waters of the San Juan to the level of Lake Nicaragua, and the canal will enter the basin through two locks and follow the course of the river for the most part to Lake Nicaragua. Several cut-offs on the natural course of the river will be made. Above Castillo a large amount of dredging will have to be done to secure the required depth, and this will be continued far out into Lake Nicaragua. West of the lake the line runs by way of the valley of Las Lajas, cuts through the divide, and follows the Rio Grande valley through four locks to the Pacific, where a harbor is to be constructed. The total length is about 190 miles, of which 59 miles are in deep water in Lake Nicaragua, leaving 131 miles of canal proper. It is to have ten locks. The level of Lake Nicaragua, and of all the canal between Boca San Carlos and Bueno Retiro, the extremities of the summit level, are to be controlled between the limits of 104 to 110 feet above sea level. Twenty per cent of the surplus water will be discharged through the canal into the Rio Grande, and thence into the Pacific, and the remaining eighty per cent into the Caribbean by way of the Rio San Juan.

The Panama Canal follows the line originally adopted by the old company from Colon to Panama, is about 47 miles long from deep water to deep water, and is to have four locks on each side, on the project recommended, with summit level at 98 feet. There is to be a large storage reservoir constructed at Alhajuela, on the upper Chagres, 12 miles from the canal line, and a large aqueduct is to convey feed water from the reservoir to the summit level. Surplus waters are to be stored until safely discharged.

There are many heads under which to compare these routes, in some of which the Panama is preferable, while in others Nicaragua has the advantage. The only practicable method of making the

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comparison is to reduce all advantages to a basis of cash, and this will be here attempted. It is not possible to give exact or final estimates on any of these points, in advance of the report of the present commission, and the following estimate can be considered as only roughly approximate, intended rather to indicate the nature of the problem than to draw exact conclusions. Data will be drawn, as far as possible, from the published reports of the American Commissions and the Comité Technique, as well as from other official sources, comprising the latest and most reliable information available.

Cost. The cost of completing the Panama Canal on the plan with summit level at 98 feet, as recommended by the Comité Technique, is estimated at $98,836,000. The United States Commission of 1899 estimated the cost of the Nicaragua Canal, on the route and plan recommended, at $118,113,790, but one of the three members gives his estimate as $134,818,308. This, however, provides for single locks in Nicaragua, while double locks are estimated for Panama; and to arrive at a basis of comparison we must deduct the cost of the second lock from the Panama figures. The Comité Technique states that its estimate "would be reduced by about $7,720,000 if the building of a second chamber in all the locks were temporarily postponed." This deduction would reduce the estimate to $91,116,000, but still this would include the excavation and preliminary work on the second chamber, and the Panama locks are planned 88 feet longer than those at Nicaragua. We will assume that these differences will be covered by adopting the larger estimate for Nicaragua, and we have in round numbers: Cost of Nicaragua Canal, $134,800,000; cost of completing Panama Canal, $91,100,000; difference, $43,700,000.

Length. The length of the Panama Canal is 47 miles, and the Nicaragua route, as adopted by the commission in 1899, is 190 miles, of which 59 miles are in Lake Nicaragua, where vessels can travel at full speed, so that only 131 miles can be fairly considered as part of the canal, which leaves a difference of 84 miles in favor of Panama. To reduce this difference to cash, we have recourse to the basis adopted by Mr. E. S. Wheeler, Chief Engineer of the Nicaragua Canal Commission, in his report (page 64):

"It is assumed that the business through the canal will be ten million tons annually; that the tolls will be adjusted so as to produce the maximum revenue, and that the rate of interest upon the capital to be invested in the canal is four per cent annually. The average rate for carrying freight over ocean routes of 3,000 miles or more is usually assumed by statisticians to be one mill per mile-ton. Of this about

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one-half is for shore expenses, . . . leaving one-half mill per mile-ton for moving freight through the water. It is assumed that vessels move at half speed in the canal. Then the cost in the canal would be one mill per mile-ton, and the cost of moving ten million tons one mile would be ten thousand dollars. Therefore, if the canal could be shortened one mile, ten thousand dollars additional tolls could be collected annually. At four per cent this would pay interest on one-quarter of a million dollars. Therefore, under these assumptions one-quarter of a million dollars could be borrowed and expended without loss in shortening the canal one mile."

On this basis the advantage in shortness of the Panama Canal adds $21,000,000 to its comparative value. For the sake of uniformity the comparison will be made on the above basis of ten million tons traffic.

HARBORS. It is often said in advocacy of the Panama Canal that it has a "good harbor" at each end, while the Nicaragua has none at all. This statement is hardly fair, since the estimate of cost, separately considered, includes the construction of harbors at Nicaragua. Both the Panama harbors require some improvement, which is also included in the estimates. When both plans are completed the harbors at the Panama route, especially on the Pacific side, will be larger and better, but the utility of Lake Nicaragua as a fresh-water harbor probably compensates for this difference.

ALIGNMENT. The shortest radius of curvature on the Panama route is 8,200 feet. On the published plans of Nicaragua radii of 3,000 feet are frequent. These short curves will be eventually eliminated and the minimum radius increased to possibly 5,000 feet, leaving the advantage still largely with Panama. The disadvantage of the shorter curvature would manifest itself both in the slower navigation necessitated thereby and in the difficulty of steering vessels round the curve. It would, perhaps, be fair to allow $2,000,000 as the difference in the value of the two canals from this cause.

MAINTENANCE. The cost of maintenance, so far as it depends on the length of the canal, is included in the comparison under the heading of length. The bottom of the bay of Panama consists largely of semi-liquid mud, in which the regular steamers always sink at low tide without injury, and it will doubtless require considerable dredging to maintain satisfactory channels through it. This is offset by a similar condition on the east shore of Lake Nicaragua. The moving sands at Greytown will also require the use of a dredge to preserve the necessary depth at the entrance of the harbor. There is, also, more structural work, as distinguished from excavation, about the Nicaragua canal and its harbors; and it is necessary to allow the Panama route the advantage on this point of, say, $2,000,000.

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OPERATION. The project recommended for the Nicaragua Canal provides for ten locks. Mr. E. S. Wheeler (Report of Nicaragua Canal Commission, page 80) estimates the annual cost of operating a lock at $40,000. This increases the value of a canal $1,000,000 for each lock eliminated. As the Panama Canal has only eight locks, it is entitled to an advantage of $2,000,000 for this reason.

CONCESSION. No concession exists for the construction of a canal across Nicaragua, but it is understood that the Government of Nicaragua is willing to concede the privilege on reasonable terms to the United States. [Since the above was in type, it is reported that the Secretary of State has secured a favorable concession from Nicaragua.] The cost of this concession cannot be known, but it may be inferred from the following articles in the concessions granted to the Nicaragua Canal Association in 1887:

The concession from Nicaragua provided:

"Art. L. In consideration of the valuable privileges and concessions granted to the company by this contract, the Republic shall receive in shares, bonds, certificates, or other securities which the company may issue to raise the corporate capital, six per centum of the total amount of the issue. . . . The six per centum shall in no event be less than $4,000,000. . . ."

The concession from Costa Rica provided:

"Art. XLV. In consideration of the valuable privileges, franchises, and concessions granted by virtue of this contract to the association, the Republic shall receive in shares, certificates, or other value representing the capital stock of the final company, an amount equal to one and one-half per centum of the total amount of the issue of said capital stock, in shares or certificates of $100 each. This sum shall in no event be less than $1,500,000."

These agreements were made on an estimated cost of the canal of about $65,000,000, or about one-half the present estimate, the difference being due mainly to enlargements of the plan, which make it the more desirable to the Central American government, while the cost is to be paid by the United States. They ought, therefore, to be willing to accept the same total amount of stock, but it would be well to allow at least $6,000,000 for this item.

The concession for the Panama Canal belongs to the New Panama Canal Company, and this company also owns the unfinished canal, right of way, buildings, machinery, &c., and is supposed to control the majority of stock in the Panama Railway. What it would be willing to take for all these, or whether it would be willing to sell outright, is not known. One of the objects of this inquiry is to learn how much the United States could afford to pay for them. In other

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words, this is the unknown quantity, the value of which is sought by the solution of the present problem.

Right of Way. In Panama this is now owned by the Canal Company or is included in estimate of cost, as above stated. No estimate is available for right of way in Nicaragua; but the concession would presumably convey right of way across public lands, and but few private estates would be required, except on the west side, where the Government agreed in its concession to the company to procure right of way for $50,000. An allowance of $300,000 ought to be ample for the total, including terminals.

Permanence. The structures as planned are all of a permanent nature, and would succumb to violent earthquakes only. Both localities claim preference in this respect, but there is little choice. Earthquakes have occurred in recent years on both routes, but not of destructive violence, and the best authorities agree that there is little danger of damage from this cause in either locality. Neither route can establish any important advantage in this respect.

Climate. So far as climate affects cost it has been included in the above estimates of cost. Its effect on health is included under that head. There is not much difference in temperature; that of eastern Nicaragua being slightly cooler, while that of western Nicaragua is about the same as at Panama. The constant trade winds with which Nicaragua is blessed greatly relieve the tropical heat; but sufficient allowance has been made for this under the head of local commerce.

Winds and Currents. These are detrimental to the navigation of a canal in all cases, retarding progress when dead ahead, and more seriously interfering with steering when in any other direction. At long intervals there will be currents of water on both routes strong enough to be annoying; but these will be somewhat stronger in Nicaragua when they do occur, owing to the great area drained by the San Juan River and its relatively narrow channel. In dry years the evaporation in Nicaragua exceeds the supply of water, so that in such years there will be no outflow and storage will be necessary. In ordinary years the excess is comparatively small, so that annoying currents will be very rare. In Panama there is always an excess in the rainy season, and in years of unusual precipitation the excess is very large. But as these floods traverse the canal only in Lake Bohio, they will not create very high velocities, and will seldom seriously annoy navigation. The frequency of currents at Panama may

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be assumed to balance their higher velocity in Nicaragua. Winds are far more constant in Nicaragua, as stated under the head of "Relative Position." It must not be supposed, however, that there are no winds at Panama. Breezes frequently blow there, also, and are fully as strong as in Nicaragua, though calms are frequent and sometimes prolonged. The greater curvature in Nicaragua aggravates the effect of the winds, but this has been allowed for under the head of "Alignment." Still, an allowance of $1,000,000 under this heading is due to Panama.

Time of Construction. The Comité Technique estimates ten years as the time necessary to complete the dams and locks at Panama, and has adopted a depth of cut at Culebra corresponding to this time of construction. The Maritime Canal Company estimated the time of constructing its project at six years. So far as the dams and locks are concerned, those in Nicaragua are certainly as difficult as those in Panama, and will occupy as much, if not more, time. In addition to this, the heavy work in Panama is easily accessible by rail from the seacoast, while in Nicaragua a harbor must be made at Greytown and at least sixty miles of railway must be built through difficult country before the heaviest structure, the dam at Boca San Carlos, can be commenced. Laborers' quarters, machine shops, etc., must also be erected, while these are partly supplied at Panama. Work at Boca San Carlos is also more likely to be delayed by rain and floods than at Panama, and regarding the structures only, Panama may hold the advantage in point of time; but the excavation of the Culebra cut will doubtless require as much time as anything at Nicaragua.

Alternative Plans. Numerous routes have been considered in Nicaragua, and choice has been made of the more desirable ones, but all with the same summit level, Lake Nicaragua. This is the only scheme practicable in Nicaragua, while at Panama it is possible to fix the summit level at any elevation between 60 and 130 feet. The Comité Technique formulated three distinct plans, with summit levels at 126.5 feet, 98 feet, and 62 feet, respectively, not differing greatly in cost, but differing considerably in time of construction, and they selected the project with summit level at 98 feet as being the one requiring the same length of time to excavate the great Culebra cut as that required for the structural works near Bohio, namely, ten years.

This is the project considered in the above estimates. Its selec-

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tion need not be final; for, if after a few years it should be found that the excavation can be accomplished more rapidly or more cheaply than estimated, the lower level can be adopted with as great economy as though it had been adopted at first. This possibility is fortunate, as it is impossible to make exact estimates regarding a work as great and as unique as the Isthmian canal. If the lower summit level were adopted, the number of locks would be reduced from eight to four, and according to estimates previously used the value of the canal from this cause would be increased $4,000,000; the feeding aqueduct would be avoided, the Chagres flowing directly into the summit level; the cost would be increased $3,650,000; and the time of construction would be extended about two years. Whether the reduced time of passage, cost of maintenance, and the general simplicity thereby attained will or will not justify this delay may be questioned; but the writer is inclined to favor the lower level. The possibility of radically altering the plans after several years of actual experience, without sacrifice of time or money, but rather in the interest of economy in both, is a distinct merit in the Panama Canal scheme, and not a reproach to it, as is sometimes represented. An allowance of $1,000,000 will be accordingly made.

Relative Position. The chief uses of the canal will be for vessels passing from Atlantic and Gulf ports of the United States to the west coast of America and to ports of northern Asia and return, and for vessels passing between Europe and the west coast of America north of Valparaiso. The distance from Atlantic ports to Colon is slightly shorter than to Greytown, but from Gulf ports the reverse is the case; so there is little choice on this side. On the Pacific side, the Panama route is the shorter by about 400 miles for all South American ports, and the Nicaragua by about 500 miles for all others, except ports between the two, which may be neglected. To determine what these differences are and to estimate the traffic in each direction are among the most important, as well as the most intricate, problems involved in this comparison. We must, of course, assume the same volume of traffic used in the comparison of length, namely, ten million tons. The same cost of ocean transportation, one-half mill per mile-ton, will be used for steam vessels; but for sailing vessels we must make other assumptions on account of the difference of wind conditions.

The Nicaragua route is in the zone of trades, which blow almost constantly most of the year, calms being exceptional; while Panama

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is in the region of calms or doldrums, which are often so protracted as very seriously to interfere with wind navigation. In fact, Lieut. Maury once expressed the opinion that a canal at Panama could not be wisely used by sailing vessels, owing to the difficulty and uncertainty involved in approaching and leaving Panama. He later showed that by working southward to the equator the southeast trades would be reached, and that the average loss of time would be far from prohibitory. Using these data, a comparison of the two routes for sailing ships bound to and from San Francisco was made in 1880 by Lieut. Frederick Collins, U. S. N.; and for present purposes his estimate, which follows, will be adopted:

Comparing the distance and times on the two routes, we get the following:

	MILES.	DAYS.
Panama to San Francisco	5,350	37
Nicaragua to San Francisco	3,240	23
Difference in favor of Nicaragua	2,110	14

On the return from San Francisco the difference is less, but still worthy of notice. The average distance to be sailed will vary somewhat with the season, being considerably longer in the summer than in the winter. Following is the comparison for the return during both seasons:

OCTOBER TO APRIL.

	MILES.	DAYS.
San Francisco to Panama	3,600	26
San Francisco to Nicaragua	3,000	22
Difference in favor of Nicaragua	600	4

APRIL TO OCTOBER.

	MILES.	DAYS.
San Francisco to Panama	4,000	31
San Francisco to Nicaragua	3,400	26
Difference in favor of Nicaragua	600	5

We will assume nine days as the average advantage of Nicaragua. Vessels to and from Asia will follow so nearly the same course as those from San Francisco that they will be considered together.

The total ocean tonnage[1] of the world in 1899 was 27,580,901 tons, of which 8,693,769 tons were sailing vessels, and the others steam. To ascertain the "effective" tonnage, we multiply the steam tonnage by 5 and add it to the sailing tonnage, on the assumption that steamers make five times as many voyages per year as sail-

[1] "Engineering News," Vol. XLII, p. 348.

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ing vessels. The result for the principal nations, together with the percentage carried under sail by each, is given in the following table:

SAIL AND STEAM TONNAGE, 1899.

REGISTRY	SAIL.	STEAM.	TOTAL EFFECTIVE.	PER CENT SAIL.
Great Britain	2,910,555	10,993,111	57,876,110	5.0
United States	1,285,859	810,800	5,339,859	24.1
Germany	535,937	1,625,521	8,663,542	6.2
France	279,412	952,682	5,042,822	5.5
Norway	1,144,482	628,493	4,286,947	26.7
Italy	463,767	420,880	2,568,167	18.1
All others	2,073,757	3,455,645	19,351,982	10.7
Total	8,693,769	18,887,132	103,129,429	8.4

This table shows that about 8.4 per cent of the carrying trade of the world is done in sailing vessels, and this percentage will be assumed for the canal traffic.

It is assumed that the annual traffic through the canal is ten million tons, of which seven million appertain to the west coast of America north of the isthmus and to Asia, and three million to South America. It is probable that the effect of the calms near Panama will balance the advantage in distance which the Panama route affords to sailing vessels bound south, and they are, therefore, eliminated from the problem. All other sailing vessels are affected by approximately the same conditions as those bound for San Francisco; and with respect to these Lieutenant Collins, above quoted, gives the Nicaragua route the advantage of nine days, on an average. This difference, under the above assumptions, affects a traffic of 588,000 tons. Assuming the average speed of vessels to be that given by Lieutenant Collins between Nicaragua and San Francisco, 140 miles per day, we have the equivalent of 1,260 miles, which, at the rates already assumed, gives an advantage to Nicaragua of $370,440, which capitalized at 4 per cent corresponds to $9,261,000.

For steam vessels the difference in distance gives Nicaragua the advantage in northbound traffic of $1,603,000 per annum, and Panama in southbound traffic of $549,600, Nicaragua thus having a net advantage of $1,053,400, which, capitalized as before, corresponds

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to $26,335,000, making a total advantage in favor of Nicaragua, in round numbers, of $35,600,000.

HEALTH. This question is of great importance, especially in view of the great mortality at the time of the construction of the Panama Railway, and also during the work by the old company at Panama, which has made a great impression upon the public mind regarding the unhealthfulness of the Panama region.

The comment on these facts made by advocates of Panama is well expressed in the following from the pen of General Abbot, of the Comité Technique, written for the "Monthly Weather Review," but not yet published:

"The following facts are based on an official statement of Doctor Lacroisade, the physician in charge of the hospital of the company at Panama, where all our serious cases are treated, and who has resided for many years on the isthmus.

"His statistics cover three periods: (1) From January 1, 1881, to January 1, 1889, during which the old company was prosecuting its works; (2) from January 1, 1889, to January 1, 1895, the period of liquidation, when only the force needed to care for the property was employed; and (3) from January 1, 1895, to July 1, 1898 (date of his report), when the new company was actively at work.

"During the first period the clearing away of the virgin forests, and the disturbance of the surface soil, often in marshes, rendered exposure to the worst forms of malaria unavoidable. During the second period much of the land bordering the canal had been cleared and improved by drainage and cultivation. In the third period the excavations had been carried below the soil impregnated with decaying matter, and the general occupation of the country had much improved the conditions. These facts explain the marked reduction in disease and mortality shown by the following table.

"Dr. Lacroisade also classifies his statistics according to the nature of the disease — whether common in Europe, or indigenous to the isthmus. The latter include malarial types (intermittent, remittent, bilious fevers), cachexia, congestive chills, liver troubles, dysentery, and imported epidemics, such as yellow fever, smallpox, beriberi, etc.:

YEARS.	EFFECTIVE FORCE EMPLOYED.	PER CENT OF DISEASE.			PER CENT OF MORTALITY.		
		Diseases of Europe.	Diseases of Climate.	Total.	Diseases of Europe.	Diseases of Climate.	Total.
1881.....	928	21.02	42.02	63.04	1.94	4.74	6.68
1882.....	1,910	18.85	47.64	66.49	2.21	4.39	6.60
1883.....	6,287	23.24	42.62	65.86	2.20	4.46	6.66
1884.....	17,615	27.58	36.95	64.53	2.58	4.08	6.66
1885.....	15,215	11.93	49.14	61.07	1.73	3.79	5.52
1886.....	14,935	14.01	43.88	57.89	1.67	3.43	5.10
1887.....	16,217	21.82	39.25	61.07	2.22	3.99	6.21
1888.....	13,725	12.17	40.46	52.63	1.81	2.54	4.35
Means.....	.....	18.83	42.75	61.57	2.05	3.93	5.97

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Further statistics in the same table show that for the six years from 1889 to 1894, inclusive, the total mean for diseases had fallen to 49.68 per cent, while that of total mortality had been reduced to 2.88 per cent, and that these figures had remained about the same until the middle of 1898 — the close of the period given in the table.

Continuing, General Abbot says:

"The high percentages in 1887 were due to epidemics of smallpox and beriberi, which were overcome by vaccination and the discharge of the Chinese and native African laborers. Yellow fever has nearly disappeared since 1889, but a mild return in 1897 caused ten cases and six deaths.

"Doctor Lacroisade's conclusions as to the effect of the climate on different races are the following: The Central American negroes, and especially those of the West Indies, resist its effects best, owing to their better endurance of the direct rays of the sun, to their relative immunity from malarial influences, and to their absolute immunity from the yellow fever. Hindoos, Chinese, and native Africans suffer more, and, engaged in hard work, yield readily to beriberi of which they have brought the germs. Europeans can resist the climate, on condition of abstaining from severe manual labor. Of 254 officers and agents sent by the old company between January 1, 1881, and August 31, 1883, 40 died, indicating a percentage per annum of 7.20. Of 89 agents sent by the new company, only 3 have died. Doctor Lacroisade attributes the undoubted improvement of health on the isthmus to better accommodations of the laborers, to better drainage, and especially to the fact that the excavations have reached a level below the poisonous emanations of the decaying organic matter."

The obvious inference is that the Panama Canal, having passed through the stage of clearing forests and excavating vegetable mold, may expect to be exempt from great mortality in future, while this dangerous stage has yet to be passed through in the construction of the Nicaragua Canal, and may produce results there similar to those experienced at Panama. There is much merit in this argument, medical authorities appearing to agree as to the deadly tendency of such works. But the bad discipline and lack of sanitary regulations have been largely responsible for the high death rate at Panama, and it is not to be expected that these will be repeated at either place. Besides, Nicaragua is a healthier locality than Panama, which fact will have its effect both during construction and afterwards. Yellow fever is almost unknown in Nicaragua, while Panama is occasionally visited by epidemics of this disease, and seems also to be more favorable to the propagation of other tropical ailments. The advantage in this respect is clearly with Nicaragua, and an allowance of $2,000,000 in its favor is not too much for this fact.

Water Supply and Control. Provisions for storing water for use in dry seasons and provisions for controlling floods are included for both routes in the estimates of cost. If either should prove to be insufficient, it would be easy to make further and adequate pro-

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vision for any possible contingency. No material advantage on this point is possessed by either route.

Local Commerce. This is a point emphasized by some advocates of Nicaragua. On this route, though now a wilderness, there are large and fertile areas which would be developed by a first-class waterway; and the traffic in bananas, rubber, cacao, coffee, and other tropical products would, it is claimed, yield an important revenue for which there is no corresponding advantage at Panama. The argument is a good one, but the prospective development is largely conjectural. To arrive at an idea, let us consider how much could be wisely spent on such a waterway if no traffic were expected except to and from points in Nicaragua and Costa Rica. A railroad is projected from San Ubaldo, on Lake Nicaragua, to Rama, on the Bluefields River, to connect with seagoing vessels of 13 feet draught. Such a railroad is estimated to cost about $2,000,000, and good judges regard it as a paying investment if only a stable government were assured. This, however, does not permit connection with the best paying ocean vessels of over 20 feet draught, as there is no harbor of that depth anywhere within reach. In view of the great capacity of the ship canal, its value as a revenue producer is estimated as double that of the railroad for the eastern outlet, and equal to it for the western, making its total value $6,000,000.

Assembling all these facts, we have the following table, showing balance of advantages reduced to cash:

Table I.

Comparison of Panama and Nicaragua canals on a basis of ten million tons annual traffic:

	Advantage in favor of—	
	Panama.	Nicaragua.
Cost	$43,700,000	.....
Length	21,000,000	.....
Alignment	2,000,000	.....
Maintenance	2,000,000	.....
Operation	2,000,000	.....
Concession	6,000,000	.....
Right of way	300,000	.....
Winds	1,000,000	.....
Alternative plans	1,000,000	.....
Relative position	.....	$35,600,000
Health	.....	2,000,000
Local commerce	.....	6,000,000
Total	$79,000,000	$43,600,000
Less	43,600,000	
Excess in favor of Panama	$35,400,000	

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Many of these estimates depend upon the volume of traffic, and this is assumed at 10,000,000 tons per annum, because that figure has been taken as a basis for other estimates recently made. But that is a heavier traffic than the Suez Canal receives after twenty-nine years of operation. That canal had been in operation twelve years before its traffic reached five million tons per annum. It is on the route between western Europe, with 250,000,000 civilized inhabitants, and the ancient empires of the Orient, having more than double this population, with no competing route except by way of the Cape of Good Hope. On the other hand, the traffic through the American canal will consist only of commerce having one or both of its termini at American ports; and for this traffic it must compete not only with the route by the Straits of Magellan, but with no less than twelve railway routes across the continent, each of which will be much shorter and more convenient for its particular locality; and not only may other railways be built in the future, but there is a tendency to lower railway charges. In view of these facts, then, it would not be surprising if the traffic should never exceed 5,000,000 tons, and it is, therefore, important to compare the two routes on this basis.

Inspecting the above table, we find that the items which are independent of through traffic are cost, maintenance, concession, right of way, alternative plans, and local commerce; and, for convenience in considering different cases, we will consider them under one head, "Cost." The sum of these is $53,000,000, which, deducting Nicaragua's advantage of $6,000,000 for local commerce, leaves $47,000,000 in favor of Panama. The other items which are credited to Panama, depending on traffic, are length, alignment, operation, and winds, which may be combined under the head of "Operation," and aggregate $26,000,000 (see Table I). The advantages of health and relative position, which are with Nicaragua, vary with the traffic, and may be combined under the head of utility, aggregating $37,600,000. We then have:

TABLE II.

Comparison of Panama and Nicaragua canals on a basis of ten millon tons traffic:

	ADVANTAGE IN FAVOR OF	
	PANAMA.	NICARAGUA.
Cost	$47,000,000	.....
Operation	26,000,000	.....
Utility	.....	$37,600,000
Total	$73,000,000	
Less	37,600,000	
Panama's advantage	$35,400,000	

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We may express the problem in the form of an equation, denoting the present worth of the Panama works by the symbol W, and the traffic in tons by T, the co-efficients of T being found by dividing the terms depending on traffic by 10,000,000:

$$W = \$47{,}000{,}000 + 2.6\ T - 3.76\ T, \text{ whence}$$
$$(1)\quad W = \$47{,}000{,}000 - 1.16\ T$$
$$(2)\quad W = \$41{,}200{,}000, \text{ when } T = 5{,}000{,}000 \text{ tons.}$$
$$(3)\quad W = \$35{,}400{,}000, \text{ when } T = 10{,}000{,}000 \text{ tons.}$$
$$(4)\quad W = \$29{,}600{,}000, \text{ when } T = 15{,}000{,}000 \text{ tons.}$$

These equations exhibit the apparent paradox that the work now done at Panama is more valuable for a small traffic than for a large one. This would be absurd if it were considered alone; but the conclusions were drawn from a comparison with another route more favorable to commerce, but more expensive to build. The case is analogous to the decline in the value of horses as the traffic reaches a point where steam can be used.

It is interesting to inquire at what volume of traffic the value of the Panama works would be greatest and at what point it would be least.

We have seen that the present worth of the Panama Canal increases as the traffic decreases; but there is, of course, a limit to this, namely, at the point where the traffic will just pay interest and cost of operation.

Assuming a traffic of 4,000,000 tons, we find from equation No. 1 that W = $42,360,000. Let us suppose that this amount would be paid for the canal, and that it would be completed at a cost of $91,100,000, making a total cost of $133,460,000. Four per cent on this sum is $5,338,400, to which we add $1,000,000 for operation, about that of Suez, and $661,600 for maintenance, and we have a total of $7,000,000, which must be collected from tolls, an average rate of $1.75 per ton on the assumed traffic. This is as heavy a toll as the traffic would be likely to bear, on an average, and we may, therefore, assume the above figures to represent the maximum value for the present works at Panama.

Few advocates of either canal would be willing to admit the possibility of the canal traffic remaining permanently below 5,000,000 tons, and most authorities place the figure higher. On the other hand, there is no probability that the traffic would ever exceed fifteen million tons, at least within any time that should be now considered. Therefore, we may conclude that:

If the Panama works and rights can be purchased for less than

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$30,000,000, the United States ought to purchase them and complete this canal.

If the Panama works and rights are held at more than $40,000,000, the United States ought to construct the Nicaragua Canal in preference.

The question is sometimes asked, "Irrespective of cost, which would be the more desirable canal if constructed?" To answer this question we must eliminate from the comparison those quantities due entirely to first cost, namely, construction, concession, right of way, and alternative plans. We then have from Table I:

TABLE IV.

Comparison of value of Panama and Nicaragua canals, irrespective of cost, and on a basis of ten million tons annual traffic:

	ADVANTAGE IN FAVOR OF	
	PANAMA.	NICARAGUA.
Length	$21,000,000	.....
Alignment	2,000,000	.....
Maintenance	2,000,000	.....
Operation	2,000,000	.....
Winds	1,000,000	.....
Relative position	.....	$35,600,000
Health	.....	2,000,000
Local commerce	.....	6,000,000
Total	$28,000,000	$43,600,000
Less	.....	28,000,000
Advantage in favor of Nicaragua		$15,600,000

Expressing this in the form of an equation, we have, denoting advantage of Nicaragua by A,

$A = 1.56\ T - 2,000,000.$

The 2,000,000 representing the advantage of Panama in the matter of maintenance, which is not variable.

Then, when $T = 5,000,000$, we have:

$A = 7,800,000 - 2,000,000 = 5,800,000$ and

$A = 15,600,000 - 2,000,000 = 13,600,000$ when $T = 10,000,000$ tons. That is, irrespective of cost, Nicaragua would furnish a route better than Panama by $5,800,000 to $13,600,000.

The writer does not claim exactness for any of these figures, as some of them will probably be changed by investigations now in progress, while some are matters of opinion on which experts may differ. The effort has been to indicate the nature of the problem and its solution, and to give the facts and the authorities on which the fig-

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ures are based. The figures then stand or fall on the merits of their authority.

In conclusion it may be stated that:

1. The American people are determined to have an Isthmian canal owned and controlled exclusively by the United States Government. Having refused partnership with an American company in the enterprise, they will not consent to such partnership with any foreign company.

2. If both canals were constructed and operated on the same tariff schedule, the Panama would secure only the traffic to and from South American ports between Valparaiso and Panama, and Nicaragua would secure all the rest, nearly three-fourths. Therefore,

3. It would be financially disastrous to construct and operate a canal at Panama in competition with the United States. This is so obvious that funds to construct a competing canal could never be raised.

Therefore, it behooves the Panama Canal Company to place a price on its works, such that the American Government can afford, economically, to pay, and then complete the Panama Canal. Otherwise, the Nicaragua Canal will be built, and the work now accomplished at Panama will be a dead loss. ARTHUR P. DAVIS.

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THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA IN ITS CENTENNIAL YEAR.

On the 12th of December, 1900, the District of Columbia, with the assistance of the nation, celebrated, in an appropriate manner, its one hundredth anniversary. It was in 1800 that the young nation established its Government in the District of Columbia and for the first time had a capital of its own. Seventeen years before, the last Congress of the Confederation had been frightened away to Princeton by the attack of the ill-requited Revolutionary veterans in Philadelphia; and the framers of the Constitution, taking warning from this, provided for a national capital, in a Federal district, ten miles square, to be ceded to the exclusive control of Congress. After much wrangling over the claims of different places offered by the States for the Federal district, including two State capitals, during which the sectional feeling between the North and the South broke out strongly, even to the point of provoking threats of secession, the famous compromise was made, under which the new capital was to be placed upon the Potomac River, to please the South, while the Revolutionary debts of the States were assumed by the nation, to please the North, and Philadelphia was made the seat of the national Government for ten years, from 1790, while the Federal district was being selected and prepared.

Fortunately, the selection and preparation of the Federal district were left to President George Washington, who had taken more interest in the matter than anyone else. He chose wisely the ten miles square which became the District of Columbia, securing from the nineteen original proprietors, without cost to the Government, the site of the Federal city which the Commissioners, appointed to prepare it for the reception of the Government, inevitably called the city of Washington. Congress had made no provision for a Federal city, except to authorize the reception of donations toward it. It was very glad, however, to ratify afterward the sagacious arrangement which President Washington made for getting the Government

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all the land it needed for buildings, streets, parks, and to sell for building lots, practically for no other consideration to the original proprietors than the speculative profits which might accrue from what was left to them. Then, with the proceeds of sales of lots and the money obtained from Virginia and Maryland, its Commissioners marked out a few of the streets and put up a few of the public buildings required by the plan which Washington had given them. This plan, primarily the work of L'Enfant and Ellicott, was inspired by Washington's idea that preparation should be made for a great capital of the nation that was to grow greater and greater through centuries to come.

While others feared that the nation might go to pieces within ten years, Washington believed that it would last for hundreds of years, and planned the Federal city in the Federal district accordingly. But Washington died, untimely, in December, 1799, and left no one to carry out his great purpose. The Commissioners had spent about $1,000,000, chiefly on the White House, the Capitol, and the other public buildings, when the national Government moved slowly over, from May, 1800, when the executive departments began to arrive, until February, 1801, when the Supreme Court came. President Adams and the Congress had met together in November and again in December. From that time on, for nearly three-quarters of a century, the District of Columbia was little more than a geographical term. It had no form of government, except a judicial system provided for it in 1801. The cities of Washington, Georgetown, and — until the retrocession of Virginia's contribution in 1846 — Alexandria had their municipal governments, and the rest of the District was governed by justices of the peace — all, of course, under the legislative control of Congress.

Nor was there much indication on the part of Congress of a desire to assist the people of Washington in improving the Federal city or in bearing its municipal burdens. In a period of about seventy years Congress spent in the District of Columbia some $90,000,000, chiefly in erecting and maintaining Federal buildings and in beautifying their surroundings; but while the Government owned over one-half of the real estate of the city of Washington, and paid no taxes, it left largely to the citizens the great task of transforming Washington's paper city into a reality; and, at the same time, of maintaining efficiently the police, fire, and other services of a municipality. This was beyond their power to accomplish, although they worked manfully and

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self-sacrificingly, in peace and in war, to do their full duty. So the national capital, which had been ridiculed from the first by those who could not see its possibilities, became less, rather than more, attractive, although it grew in population and in wealth with the growth of the nation and its government.

It is not strange that the talk of removing the capital west of the Alleghanies, if not of the Mississippi, which began with our expansion under Jefferson, should have continued until the Civil War made the capital so precious to the country — after battles had been fought and men had died for it — that its removal ceased to be possible. The Civil War brought so many people to Washington that it became better known to the country, and its needs began to be appreciated so that it could no longer be neglected by Congress. President Grant, who was one of those who had just come to be interested in it, used all his influence to raise it out of its forlorn state. At his instance, Congress, for the first time, gave the District of Columbia an executive form of government, with a Governor and a Legislature, and power to make public improvements. This power was exercised wisely, on the whole, largely through the energy and enterprise of Alexander R. Shepherd, first as a member of the Board of Public Works, and then as Governor. He made mistakes, he made enemies, he made expensive contracts, but he made Washington a new city in the likeness of that which its great founder had planned. The indebtedness, about $21,000,000, which was large for the District, was small absolutely, and no official corruption could be proved.

The panic of 1873, the natural reaction against the long Republican rule, and other causes induced Congress, in 1874, to abolish the Shepherd régime, and with it the territorial form of government, and to substitute a provisional government by three commissioners. In 1878 the latter gave way to what the act of Congress described as the "permanent form of government for the District of Columbia" — an act which the Supreme Court has said is "the Constitution of the District of Columbia." In brief, it abolished the electoral franchise theretofore exercised; it placed all executive authority in three commissioners, to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate; and it provided that half of the expenses of the District of Columbia should be paid by its citizens and half by the United States.

This compact of 1878, between the national Government and the people of the national capital, was the first equitable legislation for the government of the Federal district which Congress had enacted,

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Under it, and supplemental legislation improving the judicial system, the District of Columbia has enjoyed prosperity such as it never knew before. The abolition of the suffrage has troubled many good men, who dislike, for sentimental reasons, to see the inhabitants of the national capital submit to taxation without representation; but it is still more troublesome to bad men, who, for practical reasons, would like to take part in such politics as have made most of our great cities a scandal to the country. Theoretically, it does seem strange that Nevada, with 43,000 inhabitants, should have two Senators and one Representative in Congress, besides the privilege of electing all her State and local officers, while the District of Columbia, with nearly 300,000 inhabitants, has no representative in Congress, and cannot vote for anybody, or on any proposition. But in practice the District of Columbia is better governed — more economically, more efficiently, and more honestly — than, perhaps, any other division of the United States; and it is governed, too, more steadily and completely by public opinion.

In no other place in the country do the citizens, who are the leaders in everything else, take such an interest and exert such an influence in the government of affairs as in the District of Columbia. One of the interesting and important developments during the last decade has been the organization of hundreds of citizens into voluntary associations devoted to the improvement of the conditions of the District, and working in coöperation with the District government. The District is now so well organized in this way that it is comparatively easy to ascertain the sentiment of its citizens on any question respecting its affairs. The District is fortunate, also, in its newspapers, which are conducted with unusual ability, discretion, and courtesy; and they both influence and represent public opinion intelligently and faithfully.

There has been a very marked increase in public spirit under the present form of government. The natural leaders have, in many cases, served the District in various capacities without compensation, and sometimes at a sacrifice of money as well as of time. Most of the men of this class, who in other cities hold aloof from municipal affairs, have shown a willingness to assist without money reward in the government of the District, when called upon to do so, besides giving their time and money freely in the exercise of that civic hospitality which is constantly increasing as Washington becomes more and more attractive. Many conventions, large and small,

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meet in Washington every year, and their entertainment falls, primarily, and sometimes heavily, upon the citizens of the District of Columbia. Every four years the people of the District provide for the inauguration procession, the inauguration ball, and everything else connected with the inauguration of the President and Vice-President, except the purely formal ceremonies at the Capitol. This means three months of hard work on the part of a large number of committeemen, under the direction of some prominent citizen, who, like the others, receives no compensation. It means also the contribution of a large sum of money, which, however, may be recouped from the proceeds of the admission tickets to the inauguration ball. The tax assessment and the tax rate are both low, and the quality of the municipal service is high.

There has never been a breath of suspicion against the integrity of the successive Boards of Commissioners. There are no bosses, no rings, and no corrupt practices in the government of the District of Columbia. As Congress makes the appropriations, which now amount to about $7,000,000 a year, upon estimates submitted by the Commissioners, and as the Treasury Department audits the expenditures, in addition to the audit of the District government, there is little opportunity for dishonesty; but there has never been a Commissioner who could be suspected of wanting such an opportunity. The administration of the executive affairs of the District of Columbia has been as pure and faithful as the administration of justice, which has been proverbially admirable. It has maintained a merit system without the protection of the civil service law, and has stood for all that is best and most progressive.

This good government has had as much to do as the belated full participation of the national Government in the tasks of the District with the transformation which has taken place, since 1878, in the physical appearance and the moral conditions of the national capital. It has brought here from all over the country, in increasing numbers, people of refinement, cultivation, and wealth, who have found Washington so delightful that they have made it their home. They have built beautiful residences, which have added to the adornment of the city, while all over the District the national Government and the District government, working together, have been carrying out the scheme which Governor Shepherd roughly began of extending, improving, and beautifying the streets and parks according to Washington's plan; and the national Government continues to add to the national

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buildings. Tree planting on an unparalleled scale in number and in taste has been a unique feature. In the estimation of those who have travelled extensively Washington is already regarded as one of the most beautiful cities in the world, and it is growing more beautiful every year. Since it is now practically coterminous with the District of Columbia — for it is spreading fast over the sixty-nine square miles of land left by the retrocession of 1846 — it has become a great city in area and appearance. Men who saw it during the Civil War and had not seen it since until the present year can hardly believe their eyes as they note the contrasts.

Washington has always had a very interesting society, cosmopolitan in character, and distinguished by refinement and culture. Members of the Government and other officials, good families from the neighboring States, and the members of the Diplomatic Corps formed the society of Washington at the beginning, and similar elements have contributed to give it distinction ever since. Until Jackson began to give the "victors" the "spoils," there was stability in the civil service, in accordance with the views of the fathers; but this was not the case again until the civil service law was enacted in 1883. Since then every President has, in the execution of that law, made the tenure of office in the executive departments more and more stable, and this has had a marked effect upon the life of the District of Columbia.

Col. Carroll D. Wright, in a recent address before the Washington Academy of Sciences, indicated certain aspects of this effect when he said:

"There are employed under the Federal Government in the District of Columbia in round numbers 20,000 persons, to whom is paid more than $23,000,000 annually. These 20,000 persons represent, with themselves, 80,000 of the population. The industry of government, therefore, is at the basis of our economic conditions and social well-being. The expenditure of this vast sum annually preserves the commercial stability of the city. Industrial depressions, except in their moral effect, do not seriously cripple the business affairs of Washington. The body of citizens to whom this large sum is paid is safely the most intelligent group of employés that can be found in the United States. So large a group, too, representing intelligent men and women reflects the highest civilization and insists upon the best moral and intellectual conditions. So the churches of Washington flourish, and its schools rank with the first in the land."

In this company of office-holders are now numbered a larger number of men of science than can be found in any other American city. They have come here to fill places in the increasing and enlarging scientific bureaus of the Government, and form a distinctive and important class. They maintain half a dozen scientific socie-

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ties, and furnish the largest element in one of the three most important clubs. The new institutions of learning which are being founded in Washington, namely, the Catholic University of America, and its sister, Trinity College for women, the American University, commonly called the Methodist University, that the schools affiliated with the proposed cathedral of the Protestant Episcopal Church, together with the old institutions which have taken new life, Georgetown College, Columbian University, and the National University, which are especially rich in their schools of law and medicine, besides Howard University, the Alma Mater of so many colored men, are drawing to Washington, in constantly increasing numbers, scholars and students. There are many good private schools. The public school system is an admirable one. The recent improvements in it — made by the new Board of Education, appointed by the Commissioners, under the act of Congress passed at the last session, as the result of an investigation of the methods of teaching and the curriculum — have removed causes of adverse criticism.

Another gain from the last session of Congress was the creation of a Board of Charities, designed to bring into coördination and coöperation all charitable institutions maintained in whole or in part by public funds, for which over $750,000 has been appropriated annually. The outdoor relief of the poor has been efficiently organized within recent years. The Associated Charities makes the inquiries and keeps the records, while the Central Relief Committee raises and disburses the funds which the Associated Charities shows to be needed. This system greatly reduces the expenditures while increasing the effectiveness of the service. Washington is a most charitable and generous city and has every kind of charitable institution or society. But there has been great need of making the philanthropic efforts of the city systematic, and this is now being met. One of the results is a plan for a municipal hospital of modern type, for which the Commissioners, with an appropriation of $100,000, have purchased recently a beautiful tract of thirty-six acres on the hills above the city, but easily accessible from its center, for which they paid $65,000; and Congress will doubtless authorize that the expense of a model plan, to be prepared by a commission of experts, shall be defrayed out of the remainder. The principles of the best modern public charity work are being applied in all that is being done in the District of Columbia.

Washington is a church-going city and might well be called a city

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of churches. The influence of the churches appears in the life of the city in many ways. The latter is remarkably orderly, free from violent and gross crimes and from any public appearance of vice, notwithstanding the fact that Congress has not provided enough policemen, so that at most hours of daylight there are only seventy-five men on the beats, or a little over one to a square mile. The Fire Department, like the Police Department, is fine in quality, but inadequate in quantity.

Washington has never had a public library worthy of the city; but through the munificence of Mr. Andrew Carnegie, who has given $350,000 for the purpose, a fine building will be opened in March, 1902, in Mount Vernon Square, a small park in the heart of the city, which will be the home of a free library. The nucleus of this library, brought together by the efforts of public-spirited citizens, has been used by the people, in its temporary quarters, with an avidity which shows how great is the need for the public library. The library of Congress loans books to members of the Government only, and the libraries of the different executive departments loan them to the officers and employés of those departments only; so that the general public of Washington has had nowhere to turn for library facilities.

The Corcoran Gallery of Art furnishes the one public collection of paintings and sculpture, although there are several fine private collections. The trustees of the Corcoran Gallery are as hospitable as the rest of the people of the city, and entertain the distinguished guests of the District in the gallery's beautiful building, at evening receptions. There is a strong artistic element in Washington — painters, sculptors, and musicians — and there are several good theatres. The American Institute of Architects has its headquarters in the old Octagon Mansion, where the Madisons lived after they were driven out of the White House by the British, and where the treaty of Ghent was signed.

Although Washington will never become the "greatest commercial emporium" of the United States, which President Washington thought it might, every census reveals, rather to the astonishment of Washingtonians, a marked increase in its commercial wealth; and although manufactures have been discouraged rather than encouraged, they have increased until, in 1890, products to the value of nearly $40,000,000 were recorded. Col. Carroll D. Wright has pointed out that the "per capita wealth of the District has kept in ad-

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vance of that of the whole country" since 1860. Colonel Wright has also said:

"The District is one of the most industrious places in the country. In the United States at large nearly 48 per cent of the population over ten years of age are engaged in some remunerative occupation. In the District of Columbia over 53 per cent of its population over ten years of age are so engaged. This is the more remarkable, because the great body of colored people residing here constitute one-third of the total population. They have a few representatives in the clerkships of the Government; they have their professional men and old families of means and standing — in fact, an aristocracy which is commendable for its intelligent and progressive ways — but the great body of colored people is excluded in a large degree from the higher lines of service."

The population of the District of Columbia in 1800 was 14,093. It increased over 70 per cent in the following decade; but after that the percentage of increase gradually fell off, until in the fourth decade it was less than 10 per cent. Since then it has increased — abnormally during the Civil War decade, but normally before and after — until it was reported, as the result of the Census taken on June 1, 1900, to be 278,718, which is probably some ten thousand less than the real population, as at least that many people would be away at that time of the year. The total valuation of real and personal property in the District of Columbia was $14,018,074, in 1850, and $343,596,733, in 1890. These figures tell the story of the economic growth of the national capital. As Colonel Wright says:

"With stable economic conditions, with the cessation of retarding influences through the agitation of the removal of the capital, with a well employed constituency, with the best street car service in the United States, with excellent markets and sources of supply, with ample banking facilities, with strong local insurance companies and opportunities for savings through savings banks and building and loan associations, with the general cost of living as favorable as in other localities, with the attractive suburban developments that are going on, with the extension of streets and the beautification of squares and circles, the District of Columbia, it may be said, now has few, if any, economic problems demanding solution."

But the District of Columbia has real and pressing needs as it enters the twentieth century. First, it needs to see its water supply made sufficient and safe. Again, it must have a complete modern system of sewage disposal. The miasmatic marshes running along the Anacostia River, the eastern boundary of the city of Washington, which is commonly called the eastern branch of the Potomac, must be turned into either wholesome land or water, and the improvement of the old Potomac flats south of the city must be completed. All this is imperatively demanded by the health of the District. The abolition of railway grade crossings is provided for in bills acceptable to the railway companies traversing the streets, bills

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now pending in Congress, with a prospect of early enactment. The improvement of park lands, and the reservation of additional land for parks, in view of the fact that the population will soon cover the entire District, and that in another quarter of a century it will amount to half a million people, are also most important considerations.

Both the dignity and the large and growing business of the government of the District of Columbia, require that it should be provided with an appropriate public building for its offices. It has never had any other than a rented building, and has moved around from one makeshift to another, until it is now paying over eleven thousand dollars a year in rent for inadequate, unattractive, and uncomfortable quarters, not fireproof, in which all the District archives and the only records of the underground constructions of the District are hourly exposed to destruction by fire. The extension of streets and avenues beyond the old city limits is a large undertaking, and ought to be prosecuted more rapidly than has been done in the past. The proposed Memorial Bridge, connecting the southwestern corner of the city of Washington with Arlington Cemetery, "a memorial to American patriotism," is greatly desired, and it ought to be followed by the construction of other suitable and beautiful bridges across the Potomac, in place of the poor and ugly structures that now span the river.

A codification of the laws governing the District of Columbia, which are derived from old Maryland and Virginia statutes, as well as from the enactments of Congress and some local legislation, has been long desired. After the failure of repeated attempts the latest effort seems likely to be successful. Justice Cox of the Supreme Court of the District, with the coöperation of his associates and the Bar Association, has prepared a code which Congress is considering and may adopt.

HENRY B. F. MACFARLAND.

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NEW PROBLEMS OF IMMIGRATION.

About three years ago[1] I called attention to the alarming deterioration in the quality of our immigration. The number of immigrants arriving had for several years been much smaller than previously; but, arguing from the well established relation between immigration and industrial activity in this country, it was perfectly safe to predict a speedy increase in arrivals at our ports. In the fiscal year 1898 the total immigration was 229,299; in 1899 it was 311,715, an increase over the preceding year of 36 per cent; in 1900 it was 448,572, an increase over the preceding year of 44 per cent. The Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of New York for September last takes note of this remarkable increase in the following words:

> "A distinct idea as to the magnitude of immigration at the port of New York for the recent fiscal year may be formed when it is considered that in the past eighty-one years, or since the statistical record began, there were but seven other twelvemonths in which the arrivals exceeded those reported between July 1, 1899, and June 30, 1900. In the latter annual period the importations numbered no less than 341,712, and these figures were surpassed to a nominal extent only in each of the other years referred to."

In discussing the character of this recent increase I shall confine myself chiefly to the port of New York, the statistics for the whole country not being yet at hand; yet this is by no means a handicap, because not only does a very large proportion of the total immigration land at New York, but the most significant factors in the problem of immigration are more conspicuous there than elsewhere.

When the matter of immigration is being discussed the average citizen immediately thinks of those of foreign birth with whom he has come in contact. Unless he is engaged in some special trade or business in which the hiring of manual labor is involved, his mind will revert to the Irish or Germans, or, perhaps, to the Scandinavians or Canadians, or possibly he will think of his Italian fruit-seller. Such a man is very much surprised to learn that more than twice

[1] "North American Review," Vol. 163, p. 252, and Vol. 165, p. 393, October, 1897.

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as many Croatians and Slovenians entered New York last year as English, three times as many Syrians as Scotch; as many Slovaks as Irish; three and one-half times as many South Italians, and twice as many Hebrews, as Germans. If you speak of Croatians, Slovenians, Lithuanians, Magyars, and Ruthenians, he will probably ask where in the world they came from and say he had never heard of them before.

The three largest elements in the total immigration of 1900 were South Italian, 84,346; Hebrew, 60,764; and Polish, 46,938. The next largest were the Irish, 35,607; Scandinavian, 32,952; and Germans, 29,682. Contrast this state of things with 1869, when the immigration from the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and Scandinavia constituted three-quarters of the total, or even with 1895, when it was still more than one-half. In 1898 it was about one-third of the total, in 1900, one-quarter, and it is rapidly approaching the point where, as a prominent immigration official says, it may be considered a "negligible quantity." Indeed, if it were not for the large numbers of Irish and Scandinavians who come here to enter domestic service immigration from northwestern Europe might be said to have well-nigh ceased.

A new factor of growing importance is immigration from Asia. Last year Asian races sent us 18,044 immigrants, or nearly 4 1-2 per cent of the total, and half as many again as England, Scotland, and Wales combined. Most of these were Japanese and Syrians. There were also 3,773 Greeks, who might, from their characteristics, properly be classed with Asiatics from Asia Minor. The United Charities of New York report that these persons, accustomed to peddling and begging, are a great burden upon the hospitals and charitable societies to which they constantly appeal. Like many southeastern Europeans, they almost invariably practice fraud when obtaining relief, in order to prevent their being returned by the United States authorities as having become public charges within a year after landing. So successful is this method of deception that of immigrants admitted to the Boston City Hospital in a recent year barely 35 per cent could be identified so as to be handed over to the United States authorities for deportation. The unidentified in this instance were Poles, Slovaks, and Italians, and the deception consisted in giving false names, dates of arrival, and names of steamers, together with such inventions as would help to conceal their identity.

With the spread of railroad and steamship lines through Asia, and

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the increasing contact with Europeans through the efforts of the latter to extend their political influence in Asia, it is inevitable that immigration of these teeming populations will shortly increase. China and Japan, for example, have been isolated for centuries; and even since the comparatively modern opening to trade, China, at least, has held aloof from Western life as far as possible. But how will it be in the future? What will happen if sections of China pass under the control of European powers, and the Chinese become German, Russian or British citizens, and entitled as such to the benefits of our immigration laws? For it is not to be supposed in such a case that any treaty made by snail-like Chinese policy will be tolerated by a European power. Indeed, it may be seriously questioned whether many of the Chinese are not superior to some European immigrants who have come to us recently; but the point is that the good and the bad are likely to come whether we want them or not, and it behooves us to get our immigration laws into proper shape before the stream wears a deep channel.

Whenever a marked change in the character of immigration takes place it challenges the earnest study of all citizens, who, through their representatives, make the immigration laws. In the previous article, above referred to, I called attention to the importance of educational characteristics as a test of general desirability, and to the close connection which we find to exist between illiteracy and other objectionable qualities. Undesirable immigration was therein defined as "that which is destitute of resources, either in money, or, still more, in ability and knowledge of a means to support itself; which is generally ignorant; which has criminal tendencies; is averse to country life, and congregates in our city slums; which has a low standard of living and little ambition to seek a better, and which has no permanent interests in this country."

One objection which was frequently made to inductions from immigration statistics has recently lost its force. Formerly, immigrants were classified according to the political state in which they were domiciled prior to emigration; and the illiteracy or per capita wealth of any class of immigrants was accordingly the average of all from a given political unit. This was manifestly unscientific and objectionable, yet no more accurate information was available. Beginning with July 1, 1898, a classification by race was substituted for that of nationality, on the sound principle that racial characteristics are much stronger than national ones. Where the race of an immigrant

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is in doubt he is classified with those of the same mother tongue or religion. Italy is furthermore divided into Northern Italy and Southern Italy; Northern Italy including Tuscany, Emilia, Liguria, Venice, Lombardy, Piedmont, while Southern Italy includes the rest of the provinces. This also is based on well-known differences of type and habit. Indeed, so marked are racial characteristics that one purpose of the change in classification was to enable the authorities to predict and verify the occupations and destination of some of our future citizens; it having been found in the past that certain races tended to follow certain occupations and to settle in certain localities.

Now that we have the more accurate classification it is interesting to find that it bears out and strongly reinforces the inductions made from the less accurate figures. Under the old system, the illiteracy of all immigrants from northwestern Europe was 3.7 per cent, from southeastern Europe, 40.1 per cent. In 1899, under the new classification, the figures for all immigrants in the two groups were 3.6 per cent and 42.4 per cent, respectively; the average illiteracy for all immigrants being 19.7 per cent. Hebrew illiteracy has appeared for the first time as 20.3 per cent. The inverse ratio between illiteracy and the average amount of money brought by immigrants was already dwelt upon in the article referred to; but a most striking example is furnished by the last report of the Commissioner at New York, and is instructive with regard to the races showing recently a great increase:

RACE OR PEOPLE.	PERCENTAGE OF ILLITERATES.	MONEY BROUGHT PER CAPITA.
Portuguese	45.73	$7.57
South Italians	46.56	8.79
Lithuanians	28.05	8.18
Ruthenians	45.83	9.53
Syrians	41.22	13.95
Polish	28.39	10.37
Slovak	26.22	12.82
Northern Italian	11.00	22.00
German	4.43	29.18
French	3.53	31.97
English, Scotch, and Welsh	2.43	29.51

The above table shows, first, that in a general way, even among illiterate races, the more illiterate bring the less money; and, second, that taking examples from various parts of Europe, the races having a very small illiteracy bring a relatively large amount of money. Perhaps as striking an instance of the material results of education

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as can be found is the fact that the Northern Italian, with an illiteracy of 11 per cent, brings $22 in money, while the South Italian, with an illiteracy of 46.5 per cent, brings only $8.79. The report calls attention to the oft-repeated fallacy of considering the money actually brought in — about 4 1-2 millions — as a clear gain to this country, because it is estimated that nearly two-thirds of all immigrants come over on tickets purchased here or with money sent from here.

The need of some test for immigrants, in addition to those at present provided by law, is emphasized by the fact that during the past year only four individuals were debarred from entrance by reason of crimes of which they had been convicted abroad. It stands to reason that out of 341,000 immigrants of the general character we received last year there must have been more than four with a criminal history. The difficulty is with the proof. Our government some time since made an agreement with Italy by which the latter country was to furnish certificates of good character to intending immigrants; but this has not been done, and the Commissioner at New York is of the opinion that hundreds, if not thousands, of lawless and other undesirable characters have come to this country with the knowledge, if not the connivance, of the local Italian authorities. The Roman correspondent of the New York "Times," in the issue of May 13, 1900, stated that there were 18,000 persons scattered through Italy engaged solely in trying to promote discontent and to encourage immigration by means of all sorts of trickery. That such information has much truth in it is confirmed not only by the report above referred to, but by the testimony of many immigration officials, interpreters, and even by Italian immigrants themselves.

This artificially induced and unnatural immigration has always existed to some extent, but for the last fifteen years or more we have been told by foreign governments that it had been stopped. It is interesting to see what can be done by those who have a pecuniary interest in forcing immigration when the foreign government has no desire to interfere. The Commissioner at New York says:

> "Such a class of immigrants is necessarily made up of disgruntled, fanatic, and ignorant persons, whom the local authorities would be but too glad to get rid of, and which we should be very careful not to admit. This immigration is not spontaneous, but forced, and unless drastic measures are taken to check it, we shall soon find that this country is a harboring place for the malcontents and criminals of the world."

The complaint has been frequently made by immigration officials

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that the inspection barrier is no stronger than its weakest point, and that there is no object in trying to keep out criminals and other objectionable persons at New York and other ports when they can come right in over the frontiers, especially the Canadian frontier. As some readers may not be familiar with the status of immigration through Canada, I shall briefly explain the present arrangements in regard to it. The Act of March 3, 1891, gave the Secretary of the Treasury authority to prescribe "rules for inspection along the borders of Canada, British Columbia, and Mexico, so as not to obstruct or unnecessarily delay, impede, or annoy passengers in ordinary travel between said countries, *provided* that not exceeding one inspector shall be appointed for each customs district." Under this act there are at the present time about forty ports of entry on the Canadian frontier at which intending immigrants can be examined. Immigration of native Canadians does not amount to any considerable number, although there is a large floating population which comes over the border for part of the year and attracts notice from labor unions in the northern States by reason of its competition with native Americans or foreign-born laborers residing in this country. Aside from this special feature of annual migration — which was, however, indirectly one cause of the defeat of the Lodge immigration bill in 1897 — the problem of Canadian immigration is that of European immigration through Canada.

On September 7, 1893, an arrangement was made between the United States Government and the Canadian railway and steamship lines by which it was provided that all immigrants arriving in Canada destined for the United States should be landed at the ports of Halifax, Quebec, Point Levis, and Vancouver, and there be inspected by the United States immigration officers. Victoria and St. John have since been added to the list of ports. The immigrant, if admitted, is given a certificate which grants admission to the United States at the frontier without further examination. The transportation companies also agreed to pay head money upon such immigrants as if they had been brought directly to the United States; and by a supplementary agreement of March 25, 1896, the companies agreed to return to a point as remote from our borders as he is willing to go any alien who attempts to enter this country within thirty days after being refused a certificate by the examining officer. It should be noted that these persons cannot be returned to Europe. The

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volume of immigration dealt with in this manner has been as follows:

1894	5,031	1897	10,646
1895	5,988	1898	10,737
1896	8,921	1899	13,853

Before passing on to consider what the effect of this inspection has been, a word may be said as to the immigration laws of Canada; for the arrangement above mentioned as to inspection by United States officers is a purely private one between the American Government and the transportation companies, and does not apply to immigrants whose destination is Canada. In brief, it may be said that Canada has no laws restricting immigration. She has hitherto been only too glad to welcome immigration of any kind, and, according to the report of her Department of the Interior for 1899, she distributed during the year nearly half a million of pamphlets with the object of inducing immigration; and the report itself, some two inches thick, is very largely taken up with communications from various agents engaged in trying to encourage immigration into the Dominion. In spite of these exertions the total immigration for the year 1899 was only 44,543, being about one-third more than in 1898. Of these, one-quarter came from the United States, one-quarter from the United Kingdom, and one-quarter were Doukhobors and Galicians. The Doukhobors were from Russia and Cyprus, and constituted the largest single element of immigration, except that from the United States.

Such being the desire to obtain immigrants, the restrictive measures, if so they can be called, are entirely potential. Thus, the Governor in council may levy a head tax of two dollars upon every immigrant over one year old, and may prohibit the landing of pauper or destitute immigrants "until such sums of money as are found necessary are provided and paid into the hands of one of the Canadian immigration agents by the master of the vessel carrying such immigrants for their temporary support and transport to their place of destination." The Governor-General may also, by proclamation, whenever he deems it necessary, prohibit the landing in Canada of any criminal or other vicious class of immigrants, except upon such conditions as will insure their immediate return to the place whence they came or their transport elsewhere.

Of these provisions the one as to paupers only is now effective, an order in council covering the matter having been issued July 23, 1900. It should be observed, however, that the Canadian law

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is entirely different from that of the United States; for the former is intended to help paupers to their destination, while the latter excludes those who are even liable to become paupers within a year after landing, and, in theory at least, causes the return of such as become public charges within the year.

It is apparent, therefore, that the Canadian laws are no protection to the United States, and that the latter is obliged to rely upon its frontier inspection. For if an immigrant intending to enter the United States fears the American inspector at Halifax, for example, all he has to do is to give his destination as Canada, in which case he is not inspected by our officers at the port of entry, and practically is not inspected at all. He can then watch his chance and sooner or later slip across between two ports of entry at almost any point of our 3,000 mile frontier line.

This point seems to have been somewhat overlooked at first. For example, the report of our Commissioner-General of Immigration, for 1896, says, p. 13:

> "Such an inspection upon arrival at the docks appears to be more effective and less expensive than the attempt to guard against immigrants' subsequent entry at the numerous points on our frontier. It is, therefore, judicious to continue the system."

The report for 1899, however, says, p. 31:

> "Evidence too voluminous to reproduce here, accumulated from day to day, tends to confirm the views expressed in the last report, and no room remains for reasonable doubt that under the present system efforts to enforce the laws and regulations are in a great measure nullified by the open door through the Dominion and across our northern boundary lines. The Commissioner of Immigration at the port of New York reports as a frequent occurrence the recognition of aliens on the streets of that city by the officials who had assisted in their deportation. Repeated instances have occurred of deportation of aliens, who, after rejection at a port of this country, had secured entrance by returning through Canada, and, becoming public charges after such entrance, have been returned to their own country at the expense of the immigrant fund. There are practically no rejections of diseased persons at Canadian ports, and entirely trustworthy information comes to the Bureau from time to time through official sources that both immigrants and agents of transportation companies regard the route via the Dominion ports as devoid of every obstruction to the easy entry of the United States by even the most diseased, pauperized, or other objectionable immigrants."

The report for 1900 is equally forcible and to the same effect.

Such being the problem, what can be done about it? In the nature of things there can be two remedies only. The first is in some way to induce Canada to adopt our immigration laws. This is the only really satisfactory solution, and ought not to be an impossible one. The Joint High Commission, appointed some time since to consider all the questions arising out of our relations with

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Canada, discussed this matter, and, it is said, arrived at a satisfactory arrangement; but disagreement upon other matters has prevented any practical results as yet along these lines.

The second possible remedy is a more rigid inspection on the Canadian frontier. When it is considered that the length of the Canadian boundary line is over three thousand miles, it seems hopeless to prevent persons getting across who are determined to effect an entrance. In individual instances the local authorities or labor unions of the place where the immigrant settles may be able to trace his history; but in general there is little chance of his detection, and even if found out and returned there is nothing to prevent his coming in again at some other point on the frontier.

In view of these conditions, it is somewhat remarkable that the Commissioner-General in two consecutive reports — for 1898 and 1899 — has advocated the following plan:

> "The Bureau, therefore, cannot too strongly reiterate its recommendations of a year ago and urge that the immigration officials now stationed at Canadian ports be withdrawn and located at certain designated points on our northern boundary, through which alone should aliens be admitted. This would concentrate the available officers now distributed at the ports of our northern neighbor and scattered along the border, and, without causing an unreasonable delay of travel, enable the Bureau to establish border stations which would be as efficient as those at our principal seaports."

A bill embodying this idea was introduced into the House and Senate at the last session of Congress (Senate No. 4,780, House No. 11,715), but it has not been reported as yet. The bill applies to all aliens not citizens of Canada or residents thereof for at least two years prior to their emigration to the United States. It is being strenuously opposed by the railway companies, on the ground that if certain ports of entry are designated the railways passing through such ports will be favored as compared with the others. But in truth it is difficult to see what gain the proposed change would be. Immigrants who wish to escape inspection could slip across between the few points designated for entry from Canada, just as they do now between the more numerous points. On the other hand, inspection at the two ports of landing in eastern Canada — Quebec and Levis, in summer, Halifax and St. Johns, in winter — can be as efficient as at two or three designated points on the frontier, and the quality of immigration can be more satisfactorily watched there in bulk.

Under the proposed bill, the question of citizenship and length of residence in Canada might be raised by any person wishing to come

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in, and apparently could be raised at any port of entry other than designated ones. At any rate, if the proposed course does no harm it is difficult to see that it does any good. What is really needed is more inspectors upon the border; and, as was said above, it is a question whether any patrol can be efficient, or whether any system can be devised, to keep out objectionable immigrants, without the coöperation of Canada. The latter cannot seriously desire a class of immigrants who would be rejected by the United States, and, indeed, most of the immigration to Canada has been of a desirable kind — British, Scandinavians, and Americans. Even the Russians and Galicians have had some means. They are said to be self-supporting and desirous to learn English and to assimilate with the bulk of the people. It is to be hoped, therefore, that some arrangement may be made with our northern neighbor which will protect us without injuring her.

A word may be said as to the present status of legislation regarding immigration matters. It will be recalled that the Lodge bill, embodying a reading and writing test for immigrants, in their own language, passed both houses of Congress in 1896, by heavy majorities, but was vetoed by President Cleveland. The same bill was passed by the Senate in 1898 by a large majority, but failed of consideration in the House, owing largely at first to political considerations, and afterwards to the pressure of matters connected with our war with Spain. Senator Lodge has again introduced the bill into the present Congress, where it is now pending. The first vote in favor of this bill in the House in 1896, namely, 195 to 26, shows that until political agitation entered into the matter reasonable men, irrespective of party, were nearly of one mind. President McKinley in his inaugural message recommended very strongly the enactment of this measure, as did the Republican platform of 1896. The Democratic platforms, not merely of 1896 and 1900, but for quite a number of years, while not alluding in terms to this bill, have recognized the need of laws to exclude undesirable immigrants.

It cannot be too often repeated that the reading and writing test is advocated, first, because, as a matter of fact, it will exclude those who are undesirable for other reasons, and will exclude very few who are fit for citizenship here; and secondly, because it is a test not depending upon the testimony of the immigrant or the decision of the inspector, as do all other methods of exclusion, except the plan of increasing the head tax. Why any foreign-born citizens here should

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object to such a measure is a mystery; for the countrymen of those who would be chiefly excluded under such a bill are, as a rule, not voters, and take little interest in this country except as a place in which to earn more money than they could at home. The Germans and Scandinavians have practically no illiteracy, and immigrants of these races, therefore, would not be affected by the measure.

I have spoken of the certainty and precision of this test regarding the matter of admission; but there is another advantage about it which I have not seen mentioned hitherto, namely, as helping the identification of immigrants who come in violation of law. Some of these may possibly learn to read and write after being here some little time; but they must either learn within a year after coming in or run a great risk. For, upon applying to a hospital or an almshouse, or upon being brought to trial in any court, the test could be applied then and there, and the fact established whether the immigrant came, through Canada, for example, in violation of law, so as to be liable to deportation.

It is to be hoped, therefore, that before long Congress may find time to give this subject the attention it deserves. Every year of delay means an additional expense to the community, by reason of the numbers of the unfit who now find an entrance, and who increase our expenses for police, prisons, hospitals, law courts, almshouses, and private charity.

But, while most students of the immigration question agree that an educational test is a very desirable addition to the present laws, there are several other measures which need attention. These may be roughly divided into two classes: first, those designed to prevent deception and evasion on the part of immigrants; and, second, those tending to increase the efficiency of the inspection. There is not space to discuss in detail all the suggestions which have been made along these lines, so I shall take up only a few of the more important ones. Under the first head come:

(1) Additional information on the manifests to show how often the immigrant had been here before, how much money he had taken away on each return home, by whom passage had been paid, etc.

(2) Giving officials the power to administer oaths and take testimony; making all false evidence at any stage of the inspection process perjury; devising some practical punishment for the frequent perjury known already to exist; and preventing and punishing the "coaching" of immigrants.

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(3) Extending the contract labor laws to cover cases where the contract is not complete before landing and to punish the soliciting of persons to come.

Under the head of increasing the efficiency of the service may be mentioned:

(1) Power to debar anarchists and suspicious characters unless they can establish their good character.

(2) Extending to two or three years the period within which public charges may be returned, and including in this arrangement all those who within the period fall into the present excluded classes of immigrants. Inasmuch as there is now no express provision for the deportation at any time of some of these classes of persons, such a provision is implied in the above. Thus, those who become insane or are convicted of crime within three years after landing should be deported quite as much as those who come upon the state for support; and in the case of the latter the mere becoming a public charge should be a ground for deportation, whereas at present the government is obliged to show that the pauperism is due to causes existing before admission. It has been suggested that an order of court might be obtained for such deportations. This would guard against hardship; but, considering the expense and delay of legal proceedings, it is a question whether an executive order of the Commissioner-General of Immigration or the Secretary of the Treasury would not be more practicable, if proper power to enforce it were given.

We come now to the most important reforms:

(3) The matter of uniformity in respect to decisions upon appeals to Washington regarding the exclusion of immigrants. It is obvious that inspection cannot fail to become lax when an appeal from the decision of the board of special inquiry excluding an immigrant is at one time sustained and at another time reversed on practically the same state of facts. In the customs service, in all departments where civil law governs, there is some consistency and uniformity in the rulings; but in this branch of the service there has been no clear and intelligible evolving of the principles of decisions.

(4) There are few branches of government depending so largely as does our immigration inspection upon the individual discretion of the lowest grade of the service. The credibility of the immigrant, the question whether he is likely to become a public charge within a year after landing, and countless other matters, involving not merely a thorough knowledge of foreign languages and dialects, but also a

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keen and judicial habit of mind, are passed upon finally as to over 85 per cent of all immigrants by inspectors who receive only $1,200 per year. The interpreters who are essential in the examination of a large portion of immigration are paid only $1,000 per year, or just one-half of what is paid to court interpreters in New York city.

The private watchmen who guard the material interests of the people in the large buildings of our cities are well paid. Should not the public watchmen who guard the nation's doors be adequately compensated and be the best men that can be obtained? The needed change can be easily brought about by increasing the head-tax from $1 to $2, which would not be an excessive burden either upon the steamship companies or the immigrants; and such an increase would provide for additional inspectors along the Canadian frontier. The need of better inspectors at higher salaries was fully brought out in the testimony before the United States Industrial Commission, which recently examined some twenty-two witnesses on the subject of immigration.

These are some of the problems of immigration at the present day. The tide is again setting toward our shores, which proves that industrial depression, and not the Act of 1893, was responsible for the falling off in numbers from 1896 to 1898. Whenever business conditions are favorable in this country immigration increases. It is, therefore, desirable to make the law as perfect as possible before the number reaches another maximum. The people, regardless of political parties, demand an efficient and thorough regulation of immigration. Congress at the coming session should make this demand effective.

PRESCOTT F. HALL.

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THE NEW CONGRESSIONAL APPORTIONMENT.

On June 1, 1900, the Census Office announced the population of the United States as 76,295,220. This includes the population of the States, the Territories, the District of Columbia, Alaska, and Hawaii, but not of Porto Rico or the Philippines. It includes all human beings in the country; thus differing from previous statements of the population, which included what is commonly regarded as the "constitutional population" only. Since the determination of who are to be included in the constitutional population may become an interesting and somewhat complicated question, the Census Office evidently prefers that Congress shall decide it rather than assume the responsibility itself.

I propose to point out, in the course of this article, some of the possible differences between the gross population and the constitutional population.

The primary purpose of making an enumeration of the constitutional population is to determine the representation in the lower house of Congress and the number of presidential electors. The Territories and the District of Columbia have no representation in the lower house, nor do they take part in the election of a President; therefore, their population may be excluded from consideration. This restricts the number under consideration to the population of the States.

The Constitution expressly provides that Indians "not taxed" shall not be included in the representative population. This provision is in the following terms in the Constitution, Article I, section 2:

> "Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons."

The meaning of this expression is not clear, but it has been generally construed to signify that Indians upon reservations or under tribal relations are not to be regarded as of the constitutional population;

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and it has been practically construed accordingly in recent censuses. Indians found living among the whites off of reservations and those who have taken lands in severalty have been included in the constitutional population, while those living upon reservations have been excluded. Exception has been made, however, in the case of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, who have been regarded as citizens by the tenth and eleventh censuses, and of the Moqui Indians of Arizona and the Mission Indians of California, in the tenth census. These exceptions were made in accordance with the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo with Mexico, under which all Mexican citizens in the annexed territory were accepted as United States citizens. No other classes have been heretofore excluded from representation, except two-fifths of the slaves, as above described.

The total number of Indians not taxed living in the States in 1900 was only 44,617. These were scattered among twelve States, the largest number in any one State being 10,932 in South Dakota. Montana had 10,746, New York 4,711, and North Dakota 4,692, those in the other States being much fewer in number. As will be seen, the reduction in population on account of Indians not taxed is trifling, not being sufficient in any State to affect the number of representatives.

In 1890 there was in the country a large class of non-constitutional population which was included within the constitutional population without apparent question. These were aliens — people owing allegiance to other governments, but residing in this country. That this class should not be included in the constitutional population requires no argument, since it is self-apparent. The number of aliens in the country in 1890 was large, the males of voting age numbering 1,189,452. Assuming that the alien family was as numerous as that of the average of foreign birth, the total number of aliens, including women and children, numbered about 2,500,000. While the number may be somewhat reduced at present, owing to a diminution in the immigration during the past ten years, it is probably not greatly lessened, and doubtless still forms a considerable element of the population. The distribution of the aliens followed that of the foreign born very closely. Nearly four-fifths of them, 79 per per cent, were in the Northern States, *i. e.*, north of Mason and Dixon's line, the Ohio River, and the south boundary of Missouri and Kansas; 15 per cent of them were found in the Western States, *i. e.*, those of the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific coast; while

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only 6 per cent were found in the Southern States. In certain of the Northern States the number was very large. New York contained 400,000, Pennsylvania 294,000, Massachusetts 250,000, California 227,000, and Illinois 202,000, other Northern States containing less than 200,000 each. The subtraction of these aliens from the population would have a marked effect upon the representation of many Northern States.

The fourteenth amendment to the Constitution provides, in section 2:

> "But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of citizens twenty-one years of age in such State."

Several States restrict the suffrage in one way or another. Massachusetts, Connecticut, Delaware, South Carolina, Mississippi, North Carolina, Louisiana, Wyoming, and Washington deny suffrage to illiterates. Under the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution it appears to be the duty of Congress to reduce the representation in these States in the proportion in which males of voting age are disfranchised. Let us see, now, what effect this will have upon the representative population of these States.

The latest statistics of illiteracy are those of the eleventh census. It is probable that during the past decade the proportion of illiteracy, especially in the South, has somewhat diminished; but an approximate result can be reached by the use of the figures of this census. In Massachusetts 6 per cent of the males of voting age were unable to read and write. This, applied to the population of the State, would result in withdrawing from representation 168,000 of its inhabitants. In Connecticut 1 per cent only were illiterate; in Delaware 4 per cent only; in Wyoming and Washington 1 per cent each. The reduction in the representative population on this account in these States would therefore be trifling. In North Carolina 34 per cent of the males of voting age were illiterate, and the result of the recent amendments to its Constitution would be to deprive the State of a representation of 643,000 persons. In South Carolina the percentage was 27, and the consequent reduction would be 362,000. In

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Mississippi 43 per cent were illiterate, and the corresponding reduction in its population would be 667,000. In Louisiana 44 per cent of

TABLE I.

STATE.	TOTAL POPULATION.	INDIANS NOT TAXED.	ALIENS.	ILLITERATES.	TENTATIVE CONSTITUTIONAL POPULATION.
Alabama	1,828,697	.....	4,000	.....	1,825,000
Arkansas	1,311,564	.....	3,000	.....	1,309,000
California	1,485,053	2,000	227,000	.....	1,256,000
Colorado	539,700	1,000	26,000	.....	513,000
Connecticut	908,355	.....	59,000	.....	849,000
Delaware	184,735	.....	5,000	.....	180,000
Florida	528,542	.....	8,000	.....	521,000
Georgia	2,216,329	.....	4,000	.....	2,212,000
Idaho	161,771	2,000	8,000	.....	152,000
Illinois	4,821,550	.....	202,000	.....	4,620,000
Indiana	2,516,463	.....	11,000	.....	2,505,000
Iowa	2,251,829	.....	55,000	.....	2,197,000
Kansas	1,469,496	.....	17,000	.....	1,452,000
Kentucky	2,147,174	.....	10,000	.....	2,137,000
Louisiana	1,381,627	.....	16,000	608,000	758,000
Maine	694,366	.....	33,000	.....	661,000
Maryland	1,189,946	.....	23,000	.....	1,167,000
Massachusetts	2,805,346	.....	250,000	168,000	2,387,000
Michigan	2,419,782	.....	124,000	.....	2,296,000
Minnesota	1,751,395	2,000	78,000	.....	1,671,000
Mississippi	1,551,372	.....	2,000	667,000	882,000
Missouri	3,107,117	.....	46,000	.....	3,061,000
Montana	243,289	11,000	17,000	.....	215,000
Nebraska	1,068,901	.....	32,000	.....	1,037,000
Nevada	42,334	2,000	9,000	.....	31,000
New Hampshire	411,588	.....	27,000	.....	385,000
New Jersey	1,883,669	.....	88,000	.....	1,796,000
New York	7,268,009	5,000	400,000	.....	6,863,000
North Carolina	1,891,992	.....	1,000	643,000	1,248,000
North Dakota	319,040	5,000	20,000	.....	294,000
Ohio	4,157,545	.....	82,000	.....	4,076,000
Oregon	413,532	.....	28,000	.....	386,000
Pennsylvania	6,301,365	.....	294,000	.....	6,007,000
Rhode Island	428,556	.....	43,000	.....	386,000
South Carolina	1,340,312	.....	2,000	362,000	976,000
South Dakota	401,559	11,000	12,000	.....	379,000
Tennessee	2,022,723	.....	5,000	.....	2,018,000
Texas	3,048,828	.....	45,000	.....	3,004,000
Utah	276,565	1,000	14,000	.....	262,000
Vermont	343,641	.....	17,000	.....	327,000
Virginia	1,854,184	.....	7,000	.....	1,847,000
Washington	517,672	3,000	35,000	.....	480,000
West Virginia	958,900	.....	4,000	.....	955,000
Wisconsin	2,068,963	2,000	80,000	.....	1,987,000
Wyoming	92,531	.....	6,000	.....	87,000

the males of voting age were illiterate, and the resulting decrease of the population would be 608,000.

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In Table I, on page 571, are set forth in figures the results of the above discussion, showing the total population, as given by the census; the several deductions above suggested; and finally, a tentative constitutional population.

In the early censuses the basis of apportionment, *i. e.*, the number of inhabitants corresponding to each representative, was first fixed, and the number of representatives was obtained by dividing the population by it, giving an additional representative for each fractional remainder greater than one-half. In later years, *i. e.*, including and since 1850, the practice has been different, the number of representatives being first fixed, and the basis of apportionment being derived therefrom. The following shows the basis of apportionment and the number of representatives at each census since the beginning:

	BASIS.	REPRESENTATIVES.
First apportionment, by Constitution	30,000	65
1790, by Congress	33,000	105
1800 "	33,000	141
1810 "	35,000	181
1820 "	40,000	213
1830 "	47,700	240
1840 "	70,680	223
1850, by Secretary of Interior	96,423	234
1860 " "	127,381	241
1870, by Congress	131,425	283
1880 "	151,911	325
1890 "	173,901	357

The first apportionment was prescribed in the Constitution. Subsequent ones, with the exception of those based upon the censuses of 1850 and 1860, were made by Congress, the two mentioned having been made by the Secretary of the Interior. It is seen in each case that the basis of apportionment has been increased by each successive census, excepting in the case of 1800, when it was the same as in 1790; also that in every case the number of representatives has been increased, with the exception of 1840 and 1850, in each of which the number of representatives was less than that in 1830.

Table II, on page 574, shows in the first column the number of representatives assigned to each State, under the present apportionment. The second column shows the number which may be appor-

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tioned to each State under these two assumptions: first, that all the inhabitants, as given by the recent census, will be regarded as constitutional population; and, second, that the basis of apportionment will be 200,000 persons. The next column shows the number of representatives to be assigned to each State under these assumptions: first, that the Indians not taxed, aliens, and illiterates in States where literacy is made a condition of suffrage, are subtracted from the total number of inhabitants; and, second, that the representation is 200,000.

The figures in the first two columns are obtained by the method used by the last census in obtaining the number of representatives, *i. e.*, after deciding upon the basis of apportionment the population of the State is divided by it, and one representative is added for every majority fraction, *i. e.*, every fraction remaining greater than a half. This method is the one which has been used in most cases in determining the representation. But in determining the representation from the census of 1880 a different method was employed, which, in the following description, will be called the "new method," as distinguished from the other, which will be called the "old method."

A criticism has been made upon the old method in the fact that in certain small States which possess a bare majority fraction over the number required for one or more representatives the addition of another representative reduces the average representation of that State greatly. For instance, in the case of North Dakota, which by the recent census has a population of 319,040, the addition of a second representative on account of the majority fraction makes the average representation only 159,520. It was to prevent such cases as this that the new method was devised. This is as follows: The constitutional population of each State is divided by a number one greater than the number which is fully contained in it, under the basis of apportionment determined upon; *i. e.*, in the case of Maine, under the recent census, it is divided by 4 instead of 3; in New Hampshire by 3 instead of 2; in Vermont by 2 instead of 1, etc. The resulting quotients are set down, and those States whose quotients approach most nearly this predetermined basis of apportionment are given one additional representative, or in some cases perhaps two additional representatives each, until the predetermined number of representatives is completed. A little reflection suffices to show that the result of this is to reduce the representation of the smaller States below that given by the old method and to increase the representation of the larger States.

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TABLE II.

STATE.	NUMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES.				
	IN PRESENT CONGRESS.	UNDER THE COMING APPORTIONMENT.			
		BASIS 200,000 INHABITANTS.			BASIS 194,346 NO EXCLUSIONS. OLD METHOD.
		No Exclusions Old Method.	With Exclusions Old Method.	No Exclusions New Method.	
Alabama	9	9	9	9	9
Arkansas	6	7	7	6	7
California	7	7	6	7	8
Colorado	2	3	3	2	3
Connecticut	4	5	4	4	5
Delaware	1	1	1	1	1
Florida	2	3	3	2	3
Georgia	11	11	11	11	11
Idaho	1	1	1	1	1
Illinois	22	24	23	25	25
Indiana	13	13	13	13	13
Iowa	11	11	11	12	12
Kansas	8	7	7	7	8
Kentucky	11	11	11	11	11
Louisiana	6	7	4	7	7
Maine	4	3	3	3	4
Maryland	6	6	6	6	6
Massachusetts	13	14	12	14	14
Michigan	12	12	11	12	12
Minnesota	7	9	8	9	9
Mississippi	7	8	4	8	8
Missouri	15	16	15	16	16
Montana	1	1	1	1	1
Nebraska	6	5	5	5	6
Nevada	1	1	1	1	1
New Hampshire	2	2	2	2	2
New Jersey	8	9	9	10	10
New York	34	36	34	37	37
North Carolina	9	9	6	10	10
North Dakota	1	2	1	1	2
Ohio	21	21	20	21	21
Oregon	2	2	2	2	2
Pennsylvania	30	32	30	32	32
Rhode Island	2	2	2	2	2
South Carolina	7	7	5	7	7
South Dakota	2	2	2	2	2
Tennessee	10	10	10	10	10
Texas	13	15	15	16	16
Utah	1	1	1	1	1
Vermont	2	2	2	1	2
Virginia	10	9	9	9	10
Washington	2	3	2	2	3
West Virginia	4	5	5	5	5
Wisconsin	10	10	10	11	11
Wyoming	1	1	1	1	1
Total	357	375	348	375	387

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In the second and third columns of Table II the old method is followed; in the fourth column of that table the new method is followed, and the differences between the two will be pointed out.

The last column has been made under the old method, using 194,346 as the basis of representation; this being the largest number which will allow each State to retain at least its present representation.

The present number of representatives in Congress is 357, with a basis of representation of 173,901. Under the recent census, if the basis of apportionment be placed at 200,000 and the number of representatives be not limited, the total number will be 375, an increase of 18. If the representation be limited by the elimination of Indians not taxed, aliens, and illiterates, as above, from the constitutional population, the number will be 348, a reduction of 9 from the present House, and a reduction of 27 from that given by an unlimited representation. The number of representatives, computed by the new method, as shown in the fourth column of Table II, has been made on the basis of unrestricted representation, and is, as by the old method, 375.

Comparing the present constitution of the House of Representatives with that obtained from an unrestricted representation, by the old method, as shown in the second column of Table II, we find, among the States which gave a Republican majority at the recent election, that Maine, Nebraska, and Kansas would lose 1 seat each, while Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, West Virginia, North Dakota, and Washington would gain 1 seat each, and New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Minnesota, two each; making a total gain of 14 seats, and a net gain in the Republican States of 11 seats. Among the Democratic States, Virginia would lose 1 seat, while Florida, Mississippi, Missouri, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Colorado, would each gain 1, and Texas would gain two seats; making a net gain in the Democratic States of 7 seats. Hence, under this scheme of apportionment the net result would be a gain to Republican States of 4 seats.

Now, comparing the present representation in Congress with that under restricted representation, as shown in the third column of Table II, it appears that Maine, Massachusetts, Ohio, Michigan, Nebraska, Kansas, and California would each lose a seat, while New Jersey, West Virginia, Illinois, and Minnesota would gain 1 each. The net loss to the States which gave a Republican majority at the

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recent election would therefore be 3 seats. On the Democratic side, Virginia would lose 1 seat, Louisiana and South Carolina each 2 seats, and North Carolina and Mississippi 3 seats each; while, on the other hand, Florida, Arkansas, and Colorado would each gain 1 seat, and Texas would gain 2. The Democratic States would therefore sustain a net loss of 6 seats, and the net gain to Republican States under this system of apportionment would be 3 seats.

Comparing the results under the old and the new methods, as shown in the second and fourth columns, it is seen that fourteen States are differently affected by the two different methods, while in all the others the results are the same. Vermont, Connecticut, Florida, Arkansas, Colorado, North Dakota, and Washington each gain a representative under the old method, while under the new method none of these gains, but the gains are given to New York, New Jersey, North Carolina, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Texas. It is easily seen by the enumeration of these States that the populous States are the ones which gain under the new method, at the expense of small States. It is to be noted, furthermore, that while the basis of apportionment by this new method is not reduced in any State much below the assumed basis of 200,000, it is in some cases allowed to run far above. Thus, by the new method, the basis of representation in Vermont becomes 343,641, and in North Dakota, 319,040. It seems, therefore, that by adopting the new method we should be imposing greater hardships on the small States than were imposed under the old method upon the other States, and involve even greater inequalities. These inequalities may be summed up easily. If we multiply the basis of apportionment, 200,000, by the number of representatives assigned to each State, subtract the product from the population of the State, and then add up the remainders without regard to sign, we find that the sum total of these differences, by the old method, is, in round numbers, 868,000 less than by the new method.

Comparing the last column with the first, it is seen that the gains in the Republican States, under unrestricted representation, and on a basis of apportionment of 194,346, number 20, and in Democratic States 10, showing a net gain in Republican States of 10 seats. Summing up the results in detail, classifying the States politically, as shown at the recent election, the following appears: In the present Congress the representatives from Republican States number 236; from Democratic States 121 — a total of 357. The representatives from Republican States in the present Congress form 66.1 per cent of all.

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Upon a basis of apportionment of 200,000, with unrestricted representation, computed by the old method, the number of representatives from Republican States will be 247; from Democratic States 128 — a total of 375. Under these conditions the representatives from Republican States will form 65.7 per cent of all.

Upon the same basis of apportionment, but with restricted representation, and by the old method, the number of representatives from Republican States will be 233; from Democratic States 115 — a total of 348. Under these conditions the representatives from Republican States will form 66.9 per cent of all.

Under the same basis of apportionment, with unrestricted representation, but computed by the new method, the number of representatives from the Republican States will be 248; from Democratic States 127 — a total of 375. Under these conditions the representatives from Republican States will form 66.1 per cent of all.

Finally, on a basis of apportionment of 194,346, with unrestricted representation, computed by the old method, the number of representatives from the Republican States will be 256; from Democratic States 131 — a total of 387. Under these conditions the members from Republican States will form 66.2 per cent of all.

From the above it would appear that of the various conditions illustrated a basis of representation of 200,000, with restricted representation, computed by the old method, would give the Republican States the greatest advantage, while upon the same basis of apportionment, with unrestricted representation, computed by the old method, the Democratic States would reap the greatest advantage. It would appear, however, that the advantages in any case would be but trifling.

HENRY GANNETT.

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THE FALL OF PEKIN.

Ever since the *coup d'état* in the autumn of 1898, when the Dowager Empress resumed the direction of the affairs of state, China has drifted with startling rapidity, inconsistent with ancient conservatism, into chaos, intrigue, catastrophe, war. The declaration of war against the whole world made by the Imperial Central Government in Pekin was the outcome in large part of the anti-reform movement and the plot to overthrow the Emperor.

The occasion for a collision with foreign Powers was the Boxer movement. This movement originated among the turbulent people of southwestern Shantung. The official friend of the organization was a Manchu official, who last year was Governor of the province. The cause of the movement was spite against foreigners; first, as due to dependence of Catholic converts on German protection; secondly, as due to German territorial aggressions; and thirdly, as due to the ambitious designs of nearly all countries to acquire territory.

The claim for the recognition of the Boxers was their aim at self-preservation, being organized as a kind of local militia. Another reason for dealing leniently with the Boxers was their motto, "Down with the foreigners; up with the dynasty." People who for many years had been noted as insurrectionists against Manchu rule now stood forth as models of loyalty. This impressed the Manchu rulers at Pekin, and made them hesitate to offend their professed friends.

Furthermore, the Government, as well as the Boxers, had become more and more suspicious of foreign designs, and at heart was eager to expel foreigners and wipe out all vestige of their presence. When the Boxers became threatening in the province of Shantung, they were merely guilty perpetrators in incendiarism, pillage, assault, and intimidation. They seldom demeaned themselves to the crime of murder. They also contented themselves with attacks on Christian converts as a sure method of weakening the foreigner's power and inducing him to withdraw to the ports.

As the Boxer movement swept like a torrent nearer and nearer

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to Pekin it became more and more fierce and relentless. For the first time the capital itself was in danger of one of these "little local disturbances." To other crimes was added wholesale massacre. Not only Chinese, but foreigners were attacked and killed. Not only Christian missions, but railways, the telegraph, foreign machinery, foreign goods, and foreign learning were objects of the Boxers' wrath. The surging mass of excited fiends, becoming more bold, defiant, superstitious, as success was added to success, at last rolled in on Pekin.

The foreign ministers stormed, threatened, plead, argued, but to no avail. Certain Manchu nobles believed in the mysterious strength of the Boxers and their loyal professions, and, with honest hatred, they hated the foreigners. Many others of high standing were actuated by the same error. Prince Tuan was father of the newly selected heir apparent, and was anxious to overthrow the Emperor. On June 17 occurred a full meeting of the princes and ministers. Only three dared to criticise the Boxers and recommend peace with foreign nations. These men failed to convince the throne, and were beheaded on August 11, just three days before the allied forces rescued the besieged foreigners in Pekin.

The Dowager Empress did not dare to oppose the Boxers and favor foreigners. Her advisers were against such a policy. Her soldiers were in sympathy with the Boxers. She had, in the final crisis, none to carry out a better plan. Henceforth, Boxers were recognized as good allies, were placed under command of an imperial prince, and were fed, clothed, paid, applauded, honored.

War was declared and war was begun, with a determined spirit, though the United States tried to hold to the dream of "continued peaceful relations." On June 16 came the *casus belli* in the ultimatum from the foreign admirals to surrender the Taku forts. The Chinese commander at Taku accepted the challenge and began war by opening fire on the 17th. The Viceroy at Tientsin at the same time accepted the challenge, and the well-trained Chinese soldiers, with finest modern guns, poured shot and shell into the foreign settlement. The soldiers up the river began to join the Boxers in attacking the relief force under Admiral Seymour. All this was in harmony with a secret edict issued months before, that in case of any foreign aggression the provincial authority, without waiting for further orders from the throne, should proceed to resist and fight.

The central government, as dominated by the Dowager Empress,

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with the advice of Prince Tuan and the cabinet, determined on war the morning of June 19, when another full meeting of the Manchu princes and high ministers was held. Li San emphasized the point that, even if war was to begin, they must respect the sacredness of the persons of the foreign ministers. His suggestion was ignored. War must begin at once.

In the afternoon of the same day Princes Ching and Tuan and the Ministers of the Foreign Office sent a despatch to each of the foreign representatives urging that, in consequence of the ultimatum issued for the surrender of the Taku forts, passports must be given the foreign representatives, and they would be allowed one day's time to leave Pekin. Notwithstanding rioting in the city and country by Boxers, and the hostility of Chinese soldiers, there was given no safe escort — a thing, moreover, which, under the circumstances, was an impossibility.

On June 20 and 21 appeared two edicts declaring war. In the second, after recounting the faults of foreigners and the favors extended them by the dynasty, the following language was used:

"Yesterday a despatch was sent by Du Chaylard (doyen of the consular body at Tientsin) calling on us to deliver up the Taku forts into their keeping; otherwise they would be taken by force. These threats showed their aggressions. In all matters relating to international intercourse we have never been wanting in courtesies to them, but they, while styling themselves civilized states, have acted without regard for right, relying solely on their military force. . . . With tears have we announced the war in the ancestral shrines. Better to do our utmost and enter on the struggle than seek some means of self-preservation involving eternal disgrace. All our officials, high and low, are of one mind, and there have assembled without official summons several hundred thousand patriotic soldiers (Boxers), even children carrying spears in the service of the country."

The very day the first declaration was issued the Imperial troops began firing, killing first the German Minister and an unarmed Englishman, Francis Huberty James. We who struggled in the defense for nearly two months, during which time we never with safety crossed the lines, had no doubt that war was raging around us, and a war that was conducted contrary to all rules of war. When before has any country dared to attack a legation while still occupied by its Minister? When before have innocent non-combatants been under fire, as were nearly five hundred foreigners in the legation section, and the many hundreds of missionaries and converts congregated in another part of the city, at the North Cathedral? Some of the guns pointed at both places were inside the imperial city, not far from the palace of the Emperor and the Dowager Empress. Cabinet meetings were still held, and by day and night Manchu and Chinese soldiers, aided for

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a time by the Boxers, planned some device for our total extermination. Defending the legations were only 400 men, from eight different countries, while around them were gathered not less than 5,000 of the enemy's soldiers. Nearly one-half of our defenders were either killed or wounded. Every legation was attacked. The Belgian, Austrian, Italian, and Netherlands legations were destroyed. The French was nearly destroyed, and all had shells burst through their walls or in the open courts. If the ministers had not been careful they would all have joined the company of Baron von Ketteler. Such warfare places China, or the usurping régime, outside the pale of civilization. Such as it was it had the countenance of the Manchu Court.

The relief to the besieged was long in coming. If the Russian officers had decided, the relief would not have left Tientsin till early September, and the tragic story of our massacre, as told in the papers, would have been no longer thrilling fiction. The allied forces entered the city gates, and, amid intense jubilation, the grounds of the British legation, where persons from eighteen nationalities were anxiously waiting, on the 14th of August. While the troops were pouring in, sharp shooting was kept up by the enemy. The Netherlands Minister, a Sikh, and a French lady were wounded within the grounds of the British Legation.

The arrival of the allied forces was a surprise to the Imperial Court. Prince Tuan had maintained the impossibility of foreign troops entering the city gates or surmounting the city walls. The Emperor and Dowager Empress were still in the palace when the foreign legations were relieved. Early the next morning, comfort, luxury, authority, palatial residence, and wealth were forsaken by the Court and the nearest advisers, and flight was taken, with only a small military escort, to the north and thence to the west.

The city was left without any government whatever. In a remarkably short time order was established under the military rule of Great Britain, the United States, Germany, Russia, France, Japan, and Italy. Certain sections of the city had been destroyed by the enemy; all shops had been deserted or closed; homes had been forsaken; desolation and doom rested over the Imperial capital.

The fall of Pekin was the fruit of folly and madness, no greater in the Boxers than in those who ruled — rather misruled — the Empire. Hatred of foreigners, the mysterious incantations and magnificent claims of the Boxers, palace feud and fear of the Emperor's

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restoration, a fatalistic sentiment that doom was coming anyway, united with a strong confidence in China's military preparations — all these blinded the eyes of those who held the helm, so that war against the world seemed sensible, necessary, righteous, and full of the promise of victory.

The fall of Pekin may mean the fall of the Manchu dynasty. And yet this may not be the meaning. Now more than ever do all the Powers shrink from the partitioning of China. The larger part of China has held aloof from war. The Emperor grieved as he saw it coming; and were he to come back, submit, and plead for leniency, he might retain his throne, the dynasty would continue, and with a regenerated China there would rise a new, a cleaner, a stronger, and more prosperous capital than the Pekin of to-day.

GILBERT REID.

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IS THE COLLEGE GRADUATE IMPRACTICABLE?

The late Mr. C. P. Huntington disapproved of colleges because, he said, their training resulted in a dreamy idealism which unfits its victim for practical life. He held that the heritage of culture put the student out of step with the nineteenth century and discounted his chances of becoming a money king. These charges do not square with other accusations laid against the quality and result of college life. At this time of cane-rushes and of class suppers, with their genial abductions, you can hardly take up a paper without finding items headed "College Ruffianism," "Academic Sluggers," etc.; and old-fashioned people are at a loss to discover the connection between liberal education and the horse play reported. There is certainly little "dreamy idealism" about the phases of college life which bring so much grist to the sensational reporter's mill. Academic distinction has become a matter of brawn and bulldog courage, rather than of Greek and calculus. The literary ambitions of the collegian of the fifties are no longer entertained; the freshman, it is said, cannot write English; and every college president meditates an article on the increasing illiteracy of college students. Mr. Huntington's dreamer is rarely met with; he is not a customary college product; he was born that way. No amount of hazing cures him, and the reporter's "academic slugger" is more often found. Idealistic culture is not an inevitable result of matriculation.

I am not sure that either the multi-millionaires or the newspaper reporters are such competent critics of college life as to make their indictments conclusive; but some degree of failure on the part of collegians to get into good relation with the working world must be confessed. The alumnus of five years' standing scoffs at the codes and conventions of college life. "You will soon get all that knocked out of you," he says to the undergraduate who expounds the notions of "the men," his fellows. The discipline of business sends a man back to his Alma Mater to assure the faculty that he has come to their opinions, which he once opposed. He hints that the college is

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"a lotos-eaters' land," and that success depends upon ridding oneself of its modes of thought.

But is this failure to connect with life the result of devotion to classics, mathematics, and philosophy, as Mr. Huntington imagined? An answer may be arrived at by asking: "What does the business man find to be the faults of the fresh graduates he takes into his office?" Failures of accuracy, punctuality, strenuousness, and reliability. Their lack of prompt obedience and their facility in making excuses excite his wonder. It takes hard knocks to teach them the value of time and money and the subordinate place of pleasure. They have to be "waked up" to the facts of life.

Boys who have followed science, mathematics, and literature to their best results are not, upon graduation, anxious to be brokers' runners or bank clerks at five or ten dollars per week, and do not exhibit a dawdling inaccuracy, whatever their pursuits. The fresh graduate Mr. Huntington complained of has usually "skinned through college" and has been unsatisfactory there also. The railroad king never found one of those "idealists" neglecting business to dream over Shelley, Horace, or Herbert Spencer. Football reports are more enticing: their shortcomings are evidently not the results and handicaps of scholarship. The student that Mr. Huntington had in mind comes to college at nineteen, with the tastes of a clubman and the scholarship of a child. He indulges in all sorts of foolish pranks and demands to be treated like a man. He could not earn five dollars a week, and he holds extravagance a venial thing. He combines entire dependence with defiance of control.

Confessedly preparing for life, the question whether his present codes and courses can be carried forward into it never enters his mind. His world is a topsy-turveydom, where everything stands on its head, and the appropriate result does not follow. He is sure that the universe and society will forgive him all shortcomings, because he is such a charming fellow, as indeed he often is. Nor is he without encouragement. The public mind surrounds the college with an aura of romance and sentiment. It calls its course "four golden years, full of genial companionship, generous rivalry, and ideal aims." Responsibility has not begun, and the gusto of enjoyment is at its height. It is like Tennyson's "island-valley of Avilion,"

> "Where falls not hail, or rain, or any snow,
> Nor ever wind blows loudly,"

except the college yell. The burdens and realities of the world are

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alike excluded. All this is injurious nonsense. No man of eighteen can afford to dwell in any "lotos-eaters' land," however fair. If the college does not leave its graduate at the gates of life with the password on his lips which shall cause those gates to swing open, it has deeply wronged him. Academically, in respect of their teaching, our colleges are quite satisfactory; but, in respect of their social tendencies and their prevailing theories of life and conduct, they are wide of the mark. Mr. Huntington's idealists are commercially inefficient because of their failure to grasp and obey the fundamental laws of human intercourse and daily duty. The collegian's characteristic faults spring from false notions in the social and economic field, and point to social and economic perversions in college life rather than to any tendency in cultural study to throw its devotees out of relation with the working world.

Most of my readers would here reply: "You are arraigning the general irresponsibility of youth. We see it in our school-boys, and the happy-go-lucky collegian is but a school-boy of a larger growth, and must be borne with: sympathetic patience is the only remedy." This is also the position of the non-studious student himself. His expectation of "sympathetic patience" from his instructors is quite appealing; a failure to extend it seems to him sheer brutality of nature; and his almost pathetic disappointment causes great searchings of heart to all officers of discipline who are not case-hardened. But the college cannot commit itself to "sympathetic patience" unless it is also willing to confess itself unable to modify for the better the irresponsibility of youth; that is, unless it intends to abandon its effort at education.

What is the function of a college? What must it accomplish in order to earn its right to live? The characteristic function of a college is no longer the purveyance of erudition. Perhaps it was once, before the organization of genuine universities. The higher education, the cultivation of rigorous scholarship, now belongs to the graduate school. The college should concern itself with the final stage of secondary education, aiming to stimulate general culture and to train character. The amount of learning which it succeeds in imparting is insignificant. It can only justify itself by furnishing sound and successful training in the laws and arts of life by ridding its pupils of their boyish irresponsibility. If the college has to leave the task of "waking up" the graduate, of compelling him to take sane and manly views of life, to the business office, it is a useless thing.

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Why is the college necessary at all? Many think it would be better to follow the German precedent by adding four years to the high school course, letting such graduates as have a call to scholarship or the professions proceed to the university, while the remainder go into business. The college is necessary, because when adolescence is well established awakening individuality demands more autonomy than can be accorded in the home, where the remembrance of infancy is always strong upon the parents. The residential college gives a larger measure of freedom just when it begins to be needed. Even at the risk of some error, it throws the student upon his own resources at the time when minute guidance prolongs childhood, and finally provokes a violent revolt. With all its faults, the college community is a more faithful transcript of the world and its ways than the best ordered home. The curriculum and the general life of a residential college are intended to carry the student from childish irresponsibility and domestic subjection to manly self-reliance.

Graduation from a German gymnasium is a guarantee of much knowledge and training. What college can say as much for its pass diploma? And yet for boys of from sixteen to twenty-one the American college is much better suited. It is psychologically fitted to the last stages of adolescence. The gymnasium is an apron string too long drawn out. The college has primary regard to character; it is essentially transitional, and must stand or fall by its success in conducting its pupils to mental independence and social common sense. The college renders its best service by introducing the growing boy to the world and its ways; by putting him into good relation with society; by dispelling boyish illusions, and replacing them with social common sense. If it leaves this task to the business office, the few scraps of learning which it imparts cannot cover its nakedness.

The college finds its justification not in any unique power of imparting specific instruction, but in its social and moral training. Its claim for continuance rests upon its success in leading its students from boyhood to manhood, naturally and safely. Its domain is character rather than scholarship; and the touchstone of its worth is the fitness of its sons to take useful places in the working world. With all its faults, the traditional American college largely succeeded in doing all this; it graduated men. Its ideal aim was measurably realized. Can our colleges to-day say as much? In some respects they possess more psychological intelligence. Their class-room methods better assist the transition to mental independence than the old ones

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did. The elective system has introduced elements of larger intellectual liberty than the old curriculum offered; and the partial substitution of lecturing for reciting contributes to advancing emancipation from schoolboy subjection. A combination of prescribed subjects with free electives and of individual recitation with lecturing is indicated by the essentially transitionary character of college work. The old curriculum, fixed throughout, was psychologically wrong. Rigidity is not favorable to growth. But the new system of unregulated and entire election is equally mistaken. The latter assumes that intellectual competency is already fully attained; it ignores transitionary needs; it is the extreme opposite of the old system of prescription, but is equally intelligent. From the nature of its characteristic service the college must combine academic guidance and the progressive granting of autonomy; and since it does so in the class-room it need not fear the application of practical tests to its strictly academic work.

The unofficial, *i. e.*, the social side of college life cannot so successfully challenge examination as that of the college life of fifty years ago. Devotion to the ideal aim of college life compels us to acknowledge that it is not complied with. The college is ideally and actually capable of organizing social capacity and training character, and it becomes a duty to point out any tendencies to forget or defeat this purpose. I propose to point out some things on the social side of current college life which are not educationally or practically useful, and which, if unchecked, will go far to rob the college of its distinctive right to live.

We can intelligently criticise any detail of college life by asking, "What is its educational effect?" Does it fall in with the principles governing similar situations in actual life? Does it mislead the student as to what the world expects of him? Any notion which must be "knocked out" of the graduate is a serious handicap. In respect of his social and economic ideas, our institutions let the undergraduate go his own way, and are responsible for his practical unfitness. I shall call up a few points of this indictment.

Take the housing of the students. The freshman comes from his well-regulated home or boarding-school and is turned loose in a dormitory unsupervised by night or day. Provided he does not burn it down he may there do what he likes. His goings out and comings in are unremarked, and the public opinion of his fellows is not intolerant. So long as daylight restores decorum, no reprobation follows

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any outbreak. The critic interjects, "When the student goes out into the world he will not be under residential rules." Imagine the hotel or boarding-house which should tolerate the ordinary doings of a college dormitory! The police would soon rate it as "disorderly." The abandonment of all restraint and observation is not essential to liberty. There should be as much self-control in college quarters as in public lodgings elsewhere. The English college gathers all within its gates by 10 o'clock. Some escape by the back windows, but this is better than to let the roisterer have "all seasons for his own." Parietal regulations are difficult to enforce; but some effective supervision of dormitories is a crying necessity. The present plunge from domestic regulation to a license which has no counterpart in outside life gives the student the idea that for him all laws are abrogated, that he is a man apart. The class-supper brawler assures the policeman that long-standing custom grants him immunity from arrest, however noisy he may be. This theory of non-responsibility is thoroughly artificial and cannot be carried outside. Though the conduct of "single men in barracks" has never been quite saintly or urbane, yet it is the duty of the college to minimize the dangers of dormitory life and to prevent it from bringing forth grave educational evils.

Another matter is more fundamental. *The freshman brings with him habits of financial dependence and irresponsibility, and the present tendency of college life is to confirm him in them.* The boy is not to blame; his every want has been so far supplied. There is in his mind no relation between desire and personal effort. All this is a part of boyish immaturity; but the college is at fault if it does not try to teach him manly self-dependence and a willingness to go without that for which he cannot pay. That it does so teach him will hardly be asserted by the boldest. The increasing luxury and extravagance of American college life, its richness of enjoyment, out of all proportion to the age, attainments, and producing power of its beneficiaries, are a menace to culture and the public welfare. A state of dependence should be a state of contentment with simplicity and the supply of fundamental wants, a period of preparation for conquering the success which has luxury for one of its minor rewards. Unearned luxury is enervating; it is positively corrupting to those still adolescent. Varied self-indulgence is at war with the ideal of education. The college press reports a whirl of spreads, theatres, dances, athletics, and card parties. Fashionable dress and equipages are

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quite indispensable. Club-houses costing $50,000 are too common for remark; and a sum sufficient to support an average family is absorbed by a single student who does not study.

The greater part of this injurious luxury is parasitic. It is paid for directly by parents, alumni, and fraternity friends, and indirectly by the faculty. Alumni subscriptions are as thick as blackberries. Many of us contribute yearly toward the maintenance of fraternity houses which our undergraduate brothers say they cannot themselves keep up; but we observe little ascetic self-denial in their personal habits. Skill in "pulling the governor's leg" is an admired academic accomplishment; not only the governor, but the alumni and all elderly female relatives being afflicted with a chronic limp. How to compass pleasures and possessions which he cannot pay for is the undergraduate's problem. Much of this ill-timed luxury is indirectly supported by the faculty; college professors, for the most part, being miserably paid.

It becomes significant in this connection that college tuition, which runs from $100 to $150 a year, covers but a fourth of the cost of teaching each individual. Endowments and annual gifts make up the deficiency. The raising of the tuition fee to a sum approaching the cost of instruction has been discussed, but never tried. The professor is annually assured that the state of the treasury will not permit an increase of his salary, while the undergraduate, who cannot be made to pay for good instruction, is lodged like a prince, indulges in expensive pleasures, and wastes far more than would suffice to give his instructor the livelihood which he deserves. We cannot blame the professor when he feels that he indirectly supports undergraduate extravagance.

It is an evil lesson to allow the undergraduate to waste on superfluities money which should be spent in fuller payment for the fundamental necessities of intellectual life. Fraternity houses costing $100,000 in colleges which pay hardly more than $2,000 a year to a full professor are not calculated to impress the real values and just proportions of things upon the undergraduate. College luxury is parasitic and non-educational. It prevents the growth of manly self-dependence, and makes its victim "a little brother of the rich," finding his joy in the unearned sharing of their flesh pots. An acquaintance with luxury which on any self-respecting basis will not be continued beyond the college doors is injury rather than education.

In a third particular current college methods fail to fit for life.

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They follow the line of least resistance, and teach implicitly that unpleasant or protracted labor is a violation of the order of the universe. The needless hardships of old-fashioned college life have disappeared; the procrustean curriculum has been adjusted to individual aptitude; and training of the will has been almost entirely discontinued. In our reaction from academic rigor we have gone to the other extreme, and have made education a lax, sentimental, and nerveless thing. I believe in the elective system; that is, in an election between groups of related studies, each of them containing difficult disciplinary subjects; but I am forced to confess that elections are largely made on the basis of the "softness" of the subject or the laxness of the instructor. Any course disappointingly "stiff" is dropped for another occupying the same number of hours, but which is easier. "When they persecute ye in one city flee ye to another" is an injunction well laid to heart by those otherwise quite indifferent to the Scriptures; and sudden migrations from the Jerusalem of Calculus to the Jericho of Economics are not without their humorous aspects. They prove an unexpected knowledge of the Old Testament also. A batch of unrelated "snap courses" may at last secure a diploma, but it cannot qualify its taker for "a manly part in the wars of the Lord."

Upon his introduction into business many a young graduate exclaims, "I never knew before what work meant." The college course should be an intellectual and moral "setting up drill." It fatally unfits for life to remain four years in a false and delusive transcript of the larger world, to dwell where there is no consciousness of inexorable duty, and of unwelcome but faithfully accomplished toil. I am in sympathy with young men, and I rejoice in the genial atmosphere of our colleges; but when I see the undergraduate clad in a lounging suit, slouching, hands in pockets, and briar-wood pipe in mouth, just a trifle late to a recitation imperfectly prepared, the erect, trim figure of the clear-eyed West Point cadet, who knows nothing of snap electives, voluntary chapel, and 10 o'clock breakfasts, rises in my mind, and I am not so sure about modern education. What kind of soldiers could West Point train if it also followed the line of least resistance?

Happy-go-lucky college codes and the minimizing of academic labor effectively teach that life is mainly "beer and skittles." In the students' club-house of a great university, I found the billiard and card tables and the bowling alley all in use at 11 o'clock in the morning. Here was proof of failure to instil strenuous industry and ap-

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preciation of the value of time. Not one of those young triflers at the billiard table could afford to be thus employed. The elegant club-house put those boys on the wrong track, and a side track at that. Any "wild and woolly" Western college, whose whole life is poverty stricken, but vigorous and ambitious, better complies with ideal educational standards than the wealthiest university which thus encourages idleness.

It could be easily shown that many other details of college practice unconsciously deflect from social common sense and produce modes of thought and action which effectually defeat good relationship with plain people who have not been so elaborately and subtly misled; but it is not necessary to pursue the obvious.

The first step toward betterment is the reassertion of the aim and nature of college life. When certain definite results are demanded of the college, anything inherently at war with them will finally be discarded. It is not until the prevailing confusion as to what colleges are and should accomplish is dispelled that we shall have a return to simplicity and sanity. The legitimate characteristics of a college and its social life, already set forth, are deduced from a few simple propositions.

First. The university, demanding for entrance a bachelor's degree, is the crown of our educational system. Its province is higher education, the cultivation of advanced scholarship and research.

Second. The college conducts the final stage of secondary education. It should bring mental, social, and moral adolescence to an end, coincidently with the conclusion of physical immaturity. It is concerned with the transition from youth to manhood, and its final aim is social common sense. The work of the college is training for citizenship, a training which bases itself not so much on political history and theory as upon social integrity, sanity, unselfishness, and efficiency. If these propositions are accepted the pathway of reform is clear upon these premises:

The college should give itself no airs. It should not pretend to be a university, or allow any student to imagine that the world will accept prodigious learning as a substitute for social usefulness. Unreality and pretense are foes of culture.

The college should so frame its social life that its tendency shall be healthy, invigorated by the moralities which rule society at large. It should apply ordinary civil standards to its unavoidably somewhat artificial conditions. In this time, when increasing numbers go to

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college not for learning, but for the social life, the sound and sane quality and tendency of that social life is of profound importance. The college must make its beneficiary a master of the greatest of all arts, the art of living.

Its buildings and material equipment should assist in an unconscious education. No genius or devotion of instructors can defeat the evil influence of a structure educationally wrong. The new-fashioned separate entrance dormitory, composed of buildings practically isolated, housing not more than a dozen men, is abating the idleness and horse-play created by the old barrack dormitory — with long corridors and a central stairway connecting the whole — as no amount of supervision ever succeeded in doing.

The college must insist on common honesty. Financial responsibility and integrity are fundamental; without them the paths of life open to the college graduate lead the wrong way.

The college must not always follow the line of least resistance. The intellectual life also has its athletic exercises, and mental slouchiness is no less to be regretted than physical insufficiency. The youthful will needs cultivation no less than the growing body.

Some of my readers have long ago objected: "You propose greatly increased supervision of student-life and more stringent regulation of its non-official aspects." I do! "Such regulation would keep the students milksops," you say. West Point and Annapolis do not find it so. The average father believes in "giving the boy his head," and approves "the liberty of college life," until some day he finds he has a drunkard on his hands. Then he blames the faculty. A certain college president said to an anxious mother, "We guarantee satisfaction or return the boy." I believe in supervision enough to enable the college to return the boy before he is entirely spoiled, while the responsibility for his condition still lies chiefly with his home and fitting school. At present, liberty amounting to license is granted to those who cannot bear it.

"Such regulation would not do for men," is objected further. *Colleges are no place for men.* If by any path a student has reached such symmetrical maturity that he is in any true sense a man let him stay away from college and make up his scholastic shortages elsewhere, and then take his place in a university. The regulations necessary for adolescents, men in body, little more than children in mind, will be irksome to him; and he will soon begin to imitate the boy, one minute reading the riot-act of manly independence, and

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the next pleading the baby-act of thoughtless irresponsibility. Half the difficulties of deans and presidents spring out of the mixed theories upon which they also proceed. They skip about from the "in loco parentis" to the "on honor" theory, and find the combination does not work.

The base line from which all problems such as these must be worked out is that *college work is secondary education, and suited to merely adolescent powers.* Theories of discipline must fit themselves to adolescence, and only such social life may be allowed as is appropriate to youth and dependence. Our average freshman, nearly if not quite twenty years old, pursues the studies of a French or English boy of fifteen; has the tastes of an accomplished clubman; is not quite oblivious of the charms of impending matrimony; and is dependent for every dollar which supports his brave and joyous state.

The graver evils of college life are caused by too long delayed entrance upon it. Nineteen and a half is the average age of entrance in the up-State colleges of New York. The psychological moment when control and guidance are accepted, when mental, moral, and physical adolescence are contemporaneous, and can be harmoniously handled, is past. College life is at present psychologically ill-timed, and it never will be sound, and sane, and safe until we confine it to its appropriate seasons. The clear recognition that colleges are secondary institutions, fitted to the needs of boys, would strike at the root of student luxury and extravagance. Dependence is injurious if continued beyond adolescence. During youth dependence is natural, and the financial supervision which goes with it is accepted as a matter of course. When manhood finds this supervision irksome, it should reject dependence also, and express its self-respect in self-support. Pending the ability of self-support, the supply of fundamental wants in a simple manner is all that a fine feeling for congruity would desire.

It is a weighty indictment against our whole educational system that physical and political maturity come at twenty-one, while self-support lags behind till thirty. Twenty-one should be the limit of adolescence and dependence. Physical, mental, economic, and political emancipation should be attained together. College graduation should come at twenty-one, and is easily possible when a boy begins preparatory work at the proper time. But since our schools will defer starting Latin until the memory age is almost gone, a shortening of the course to three years would be a small price for a boy to

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pay for the benefits of beginning to earn his living at the time when he has become resistent of external control. A man earning his living or learning a profession is at his life work, and has some right to take himself seriously. Dependence, coupled with extravagance and idleness, protracted through the twenties is an incongruity and a sin. The community is tired of the bald-headed undergraduate, at once man of the world, academic blunderer, and helpless parasite. The reduction of students' allowances and social equipment to a scale appropriate to a state of dependence is perhaps too much to hope for; but a clear idea of the character and congruities of college life will do much to bring about reform.

If college men are commercially inefficient, as Mr. Huntington said, it is not because culture paralyzes practical capacity, but because some of the social and economic tendencies of our colleges are at war with common sense. The college must devote itself to the guidance of advanced adolescence to that sane and self-directed manhood before which the world lies open. It must adapt all its agencies, social and unofficial as well as academic, to the fulfilment of this purpose, and test every class-room method, every student custom, every article of the social code, by its educational tendency, and by its conformity with reality, social sanity, and fitness for practical life.

ROBERT ELLIS JONES.

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SMOKELESS CANNON POWDER IN THE LIGHT OF THE MOST RECENT DISCOVERIES.

As originally made, gunpowder consisted of a loose mixture of pulverized sulphur, charcoal, and saltpetre. It then actually existed in the form of a powder, hence the name. The idea of granulation probably arose from the admixture of bituminous matter with the powder, to retard the combustion. The first methodical granulation of gunpowder recorded was in France in 1825. The pulverized ingredients were mixed thoroughly and pressed into a hard cake, which was then broken up into irregular fragments or grains.

The next important improvement in granulation was made by General T. J. Rodman, the inventor of prismatic gunpowder, who in 1854 had presses made for moulding the grains separately, giving to them a definite and uniform shape. He was also the first to make multi-perforated powder grains with a view to securing progressive combustion. (See Fig. 1.) The improvements which followed those of General Rodman related mainly to composition and density, having for their object the retarding of combustion. Brown prismatic powder was the result. There was no further improvement until the advent of smokeless powder.

Black gunpowder, being but a mechanical mixture caked together by pressure, was not well adapted to the multi-perforated form invented by Rodman, which, after much experimenting, was abandoned for the form having a single central perforation. (See Fig. 2.) Notwithstanding the obvious advantages of multi-perforations, the material did not possess sufficient tensile strength to render those advantages available.

In order to understand the action of gunpowder, we must bear in mind that there are two forms of combustion known as explosion. One is what is termed detonation, where the action takes place throughout the mass at practically the same instant. This form of combustion or explosion applies to what are known as high explo-

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sives. Gunpowder is consumed by surface combustion only. This requires time, and although the time is relatively short in the usual sense, it is long when compared with the infinitely quicker action of high explosives. From the pulling of the lanyard until the projec-

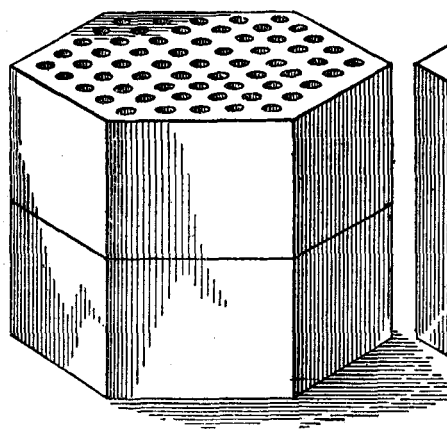

FIG. 1.

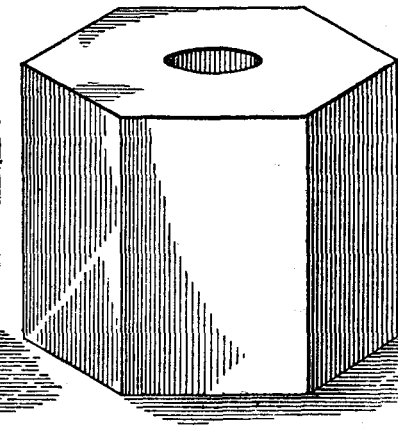

FIG. 2.

tile leaves the muzzle of a cannon only about a sixtieth of a second intervenes. Short as is this period it gives the projectile time to move forward in the bore and provide space for the reception of the powder gases as fast as they are set free; whereas, if the charge should be consumed instantly, as by detonation, the projectile would not have time for any appreciable movement, and the whole rear portion of the gun would be blown to fragments from the enormous pressure.

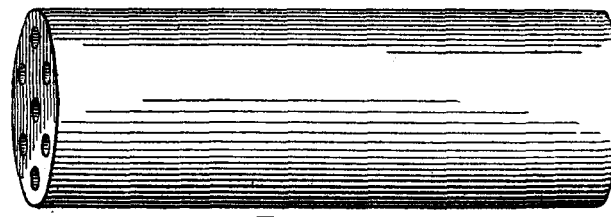

FIG. 3.

Obviously, an ideal gunpowder should produce a pressure which would be so well maintained behind the projectile in its flight through the bore of the gun that a curve representing the pressure would coincide with a curve representing the working tangential

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strength of the piece throughout its length. This result can be attained only by means of multi-perforations, giving the powder grains such form that they will be consumed by rapidly accelerating combustion. The powder grain which has been adopted by the United States Government for both branches of the service is the longitudinally multi-perforated cylinder shown in Fig. 3, the usual number of perforations being seven, though frequently as many as nineteen are employed. The diameter of the cylinder and the thickness of the material between the perforations is made greater or less according to the size of the gun in which the grain is to be used.

The dense colloid of which smokeless powder is composed, when properly made, is free from pores and wholly impervious to the hot gases with which it is enveloped in the gun. Ignited in the air, this material burns with comparative slowness, requiring several seconds for the consumption of a grain of ordinary size. When burned under

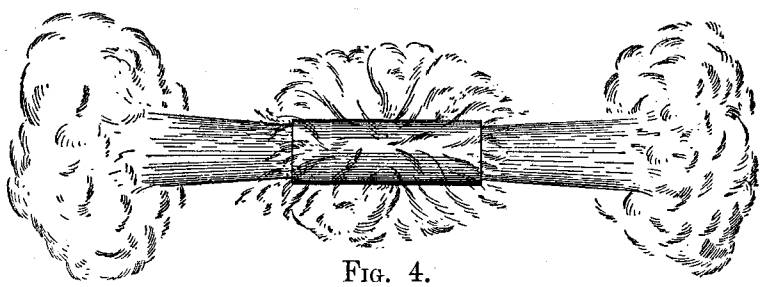

FIG. 4.

pressure, however, the action is much more rapid. Under service pressure in a gun — about 35,000 pounds to the square inch — the same grain is consumed in about the sixtieth of a second.

Fig. 4 represents a grain of smokeless cannon powder burning in the air. The expulsion of the products of combustion from the perforations generates a pressure there in excess of that upon the outer surfaces of the grain. This causes a more rapid rate of burning within the perforations, and accounts for the strong blast of flame being thrown out of the perforations at each end, as shown in the figure. As this difference between external and internal pressures is increased in proportion to the increase in the rate of combustion under service pressures, it is obvious that the tensile strength of grains becomes a very important factor in preventing their disruption or blowing up in guns. In fact, the tangential strength of a grain of multi-perforated powder is quite as important as that of the gun.

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If the powder grains be made too long, or the perforations too small, they will explode even when burned under atmospheric pressure. The higher the pressure, the shorter must be the grains. The disruption of powder grains in guns might be very disastrous, because the pressure would suddenly mount to a point where a gun would burst, owing to the enormous increase of burning areas presented to the flame by the large number of small fragments.

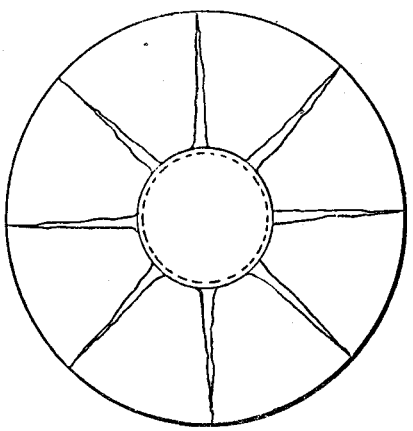

FIG. 5.

In the manufacture of smokeless powder there should be as little solvent employed as possible to effect gelatinization of the guncotton, in order to reduce shrinkage to the minimum and prevent warping and cracking in drying. The drying of cylindrical powder grains may be compared to the cooling of a piece of ordnance, the stresses set up being similar. General Rodman discovered in the manufacture of cast-iron cannon that when allowed to cool from the outside such internal stress was set up that the piece was capable of standing much less pressure than when the same was cooled from the inside. When externally cooled the outer portion of metal becomes solid and unyielding, assuming a definite and final shape, while the interior is still soft and yielding. As the inner portions of the metal also shrink in cooling, more and more stress is set up toward the bore. Although the metal may be strong and elastic enough to prevent cracking, still the stress is such that the gun is to a large extent under a strong bursting strain while in a normal state, deducting just so much from the tangential resistance of the piece to the pres-

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sure of the powder charge. Fig. 5 is a cross-sectional diagram of a gun made by General Rodman, indicating the tendency to crack from internal stress when a cannon is cooled from the outside. When cooled from the inside, the exact reverse condition is produced; the inner portion of metal becoming first solidified, the outer in cooling shrinks upon it, with the result that the stress set up materially strengthens instead of weakening the piece.

Of course, it is impossible to dry powder grains from the inside; hence the advantage of using the smallest possible quantity of solvent to secure minimum shrinkage. However, there must always be more or less internal stress; and though no actual cracks may appear, still, as in the case of an externally cooled cannon, the grains may be so nearly brought to the point of cracking as to require but little internal pressure to effect their disruption. Doubtless, many erratic pressures which have occurred from time to time in the early experiments with smokeless powders have been due to the disruption of the grains from the excess of pressure within the perforations, and were in many cases attributable to initial stress already existing in the grains, although no visible faults or cracks might have appeared.

Fig. 6 is an end view of a grain of United States multi-perforated smokeless cannon powder, perfect in form. Fig. 7 is a simi-

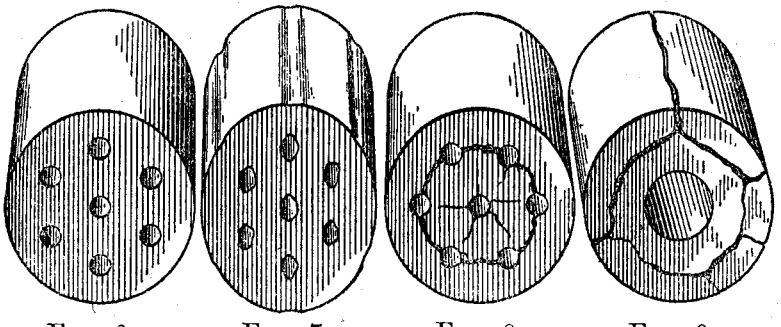

FIG. 6. FIG. 7. FIG. 8. FIG. 9.

lar grain, but made with so much solvent that it has become distorted in drying. Although no cracks may be visible, yet the tangential strength of the grain is very much lessened. When the powder composition is of a less tough material than that used in making the grain shown in Fig. 7, the cracking effect shown in Fig. 8 is the result,

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in which event there may be less distortion of the grain. When a powder grain is made tubular the cracks assume the form which is shown in Fig. 9.

Fig. 10 represents a grain of pyro-nitro-cellulose smokeless powder made with too much solvent, very volatile in character and dried quickly. The body of the grain, shrinking largely after the ends have become dry and solid, gives the grain the peculiar shape shown. In this grain there are strong stresses set up, which tend to separate the ends from the body of the grain, as well as tending to produce the form of cracks shown in Fig. 8.

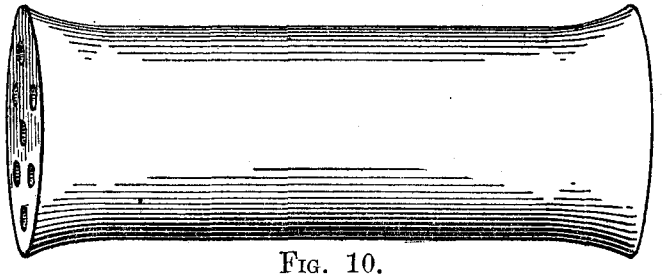

FIG. 10.

All modern smokeless powders consist either of nitro-cellulose of some special degree of nitration, or of a mixture of different grades, either with or without the addition of nitro-glycerin. Tri-nitro-cellulose, or guncotton of the highest nitration, is too difficult to work and shrinks too badly to permit of its being used alone. Mixed, however, with 10 per cent of the more soluble gelatin-guncotton, the resulting compound may be worked with but very little solvent. Upon this compound a slight rise of temperature has the peculiar effect of increasing its plasticity, which enables perfect granulation with an exceedingly small amount of solvent. When 10 per cent of nitro-glycerin is employed, there should be used at first, in the material in the incorporating machine, about twice the quantity of solvent that will be required in granulation, the excess being removed by working between steel rolls, such as those used in the manufacture of celluloid. Powder made by this formula does not warp or crack in drying, and internal stress is reduced to a minimum.

Pyro-nitro-cellulose is now used exclusively by the Government in the manufacture of smokeless powder; and while it shrinks considerably in drying, still the grains are so tough, hard, and hornlike

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that, in spite of any internal stress, they are capable of standing a higher pressure than when made of a more brittle compound, even though greater care be exercised to avoid shrinkage. No nitro-glycerin is used in the present service powder, and the compound is so poor in oxygen that a grain burned in the air leaves a large quantity of unconsumed carbon. Burned in a gun, however, under service pressures, most of the carbon combines with the oxygen to produce carbonic oxide instead of carbonic acid. The products of combustion of this material are practically all gaseous, and therefore smokeless, and consist mainly of carbonic oxide, free nitrogen, and free hydrogen. The immense volume of the products of combustion of this powder, owing to the exceeding lightness of these gases, gives it a very high ballistic value, while at the same time the temperature is much lower and the erosive action upon the gun is less than with smokeless powders rich in nitro-glycerin, which owe their high ballistic value to the great expansive power due to high temperature.

The high explosive quality of picric acid, which contains too little oxygen for its complete combustion, is another example where the larger volume of lighter gases compensates for the greater expansive value of heavier gases at a higher temperature produced with explosives rich in oxygen, which yield carbonic acid in place of carbonic oxide. If all of the carbon present in pyro-nitro-cellulose smokeless powder were to combine to form carbonic oxide with a minimum production of carbonic acid and aqueous vapor, to satisfy an ideal equation, still higher ballistic results would be attained. But the pressure in guns is not sufficiently high to effect this; whereas in the detonation of picric acid a pressure from fifteen to twenty times as high is instantly produced, under which the density and temperature of the gases are such as to cause practically all of the carbon to combine with the oxygen, forming the lowest oxide of carbon at the expense of the hydrogen present. Consequently, we get as the products of combustion the maximum of carbonic oxide, with free nitrogen and free hydrogen, and with a minimum of carbonic acid and aqueous vapor. Under high pressures and temperatures the chemical affinity of carbon is especially intensified.

If a charge of pyro-nitro-cellulose smokeless powder were to be reduced to a very fine state of division, loaded into a strong, steel shell, and then detonated by a powerful exploder, the reaction would differ from that produced by burning the same material in guns with infinitely greater slowness and under very much lower pressures and

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temperatures, and the total energy developed would also be much greater. To develop the same energy behind the projectile and to impart to it an equal velocity there is required about 20 per cent more in weight of pyro-nitro-cellulose smokeless powder than of a smokeless powder compound consisting of 68 per cent tri-nitro-cellulose, 7 per cent gelatin guncotton, and 25 per cent nitro-glycerin.

The pyro-nitro-cellulose composition, being much harder than the nitro-glycerin compound, has a correspondingly slower rate of combustion. The thickness through which it burns being much less, it would at first appear that it would counteract to a large extent the advantages of multi-perforations, because there is not so much enlargement of the perforations with resultant acceleration of combustion. We must bear in mind, however, that for the very reason that the combustion is slower the perforations may be made smaller; and, owing to the toughness of the material, the size and length of the perforations may be so small as to give practically the same accelerating rate of combustion as can be secured with a more rapidly burning compound, but one not possessing such great tensile strength.

This is true, however, only with high pressures. Pyro-nitro-cellulose is essentially a high-pressure powder compound. The present tendency continually to increase the weight and strength of guns of all calibres in order to withstand the enormous pressures necessary to impart ever increasing velocities to projectiles, to keep pace with improvements in the resisting power of armor plate, renders pyro-nitro-cellulose powder especially valuable.

British cordite is the smokeless powder containing the greatest percentage of nitro-glycerin, and consequently the one which develops the highest temperature and greatest amount of energy of all, while pyro-nitro-cellulose develops the lowest temperature, but without a corresponding diminution of ballistic value. It would probably require about a third more pyro-nitro-cellulose compound to develop the same energy behind a projectile as that developed by the British cordite composition, containing 58 per cent of nitro-glycerin. Notwithstanding this and the fact that pyro-nitro-cellulose is a more expensive compound, the greater erosive action of cordite at high pressures is so destructive to ordnance as more than to balance the additional expense of using greater charges of the more expensive material. For the foregoing reasons it is believed that the United States Government has in its pyro-nitro-cellulose composition and its form of grain a really ideal smokeless powder for high-power guns.

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The multi-perforated grain and the composition necessarily go together, because it would be impossible to use such a hard and dense material, and one which burns through such a small thickness, without its being multi-perforated. This is owing to the enormous initial areas presented to the flame with the resultant high pressures developed by full charges if granulated sufficiently fine or made thin enough to be burned in the gun without perforations.

While pyro-nitro-cellulose admittedly possesses superior advantages for high-power guns, when the pressures are great enough to make the material burn through a sufficient thickness to produce high ballistic results, it would still not be so well suited to guns with very large bores and comparatively thin walls, adapted to throwing aerial

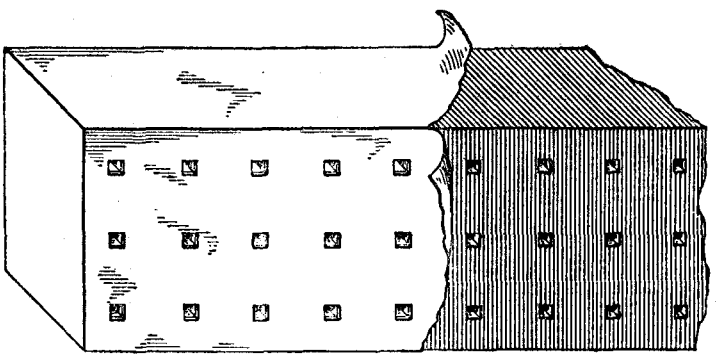

FIG. 11.

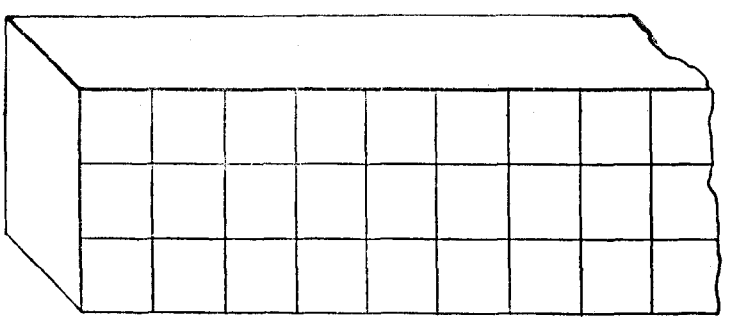

FIG. 12.

torpedoes, where a powder should be employed capable of burning through a necessary thickness under low pressures, to effect the accelerating combustion required for highest ballistic results. It is the

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belief of the writer that torpedo guns of this description will be soon largely used in this country, and it will be necessary to employ a smokeless powder made especially for the purpose. Such a powder must present a very small initial surface to the flame of ignition, with maximum surface at the instant before complete consumption.

The powder grain shown in Fig. 11 has been recommended by the writer for this purpose. It is a long, rectangular bar, about twice as wide as thick, and having a length of from eighteen inches to two feet. This bar is pierced with a large number of rectangular perforations, small in size, and so arranged that the grain shall burn out to the diagram shown in Fig. 12. In order to secure the maximum acceleration of combustion, the grain is given a suitable exterior covering or varnish coating, which is intended to be only of such thickness and character as will effectually delay the ignition of the outer surfaces of the grain, but will not prevent the grain being wholly consumed before the projectile leaves the gun.

The composition which the writer recommends for this grain would contain nitro-glycerin, tri-nitro-cellulose, gelatin guncotton, and about 10 per cent of a compound at present held as a secret, which latter effects the combination of the nitro-glycerin with the other ingredients in a much more intimate relation than has ever been heretofore secured. This compound would be very tough and elastic, and would permit of the perforations being made comparatively small. Furthermore, although the compound would contain nitro-glycerin and burn rapidly, nevertheless, its products of combustion would be so low in temperature and of such a non-oxidizing character as to have no more erosive effect upon the gun than is produced with the pyro-nitro-cellulose compound already described. Even were the pyro-nitro-cellulose compound to be employed in torpedo guns, the transversely perforated grain shown in Fig. 11 would still possess the same advantages above the longitudinally perforated cylinder, because, owing to the shortness of the perforations, they could be made very small in size. By making them very small a sufficient number of them could be used to reduce the thickness of the material between them to such an extent as to cause the grains to be entirely consumed under the necessarily low pressures, while presenting so small an initial area to the flame of ignition as to enable full charges to be employed.

HUDSON MAXIM.

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A NEW INDUSTRY BROUGHT BY AN INSECT.

An article by the present writer, entitled, "International Relations Disturbed by an Insect," was published in The Forum for July, 1898. In that article it was shown how the San José scale had caused the adoption of quarantine measures against United States fruit by many foreign countries, and that it had been the subject of much discussion in diplomatic circles. It is a pleasure, therefore, to record a recent industrial occurrence of an entirely different character, and to show how the United States has gained a new insect inhabitant which promises to add greatly to our wealth.

During all past time the dried fig trade of the world has been controlled by the countries bordering on the Mediterranean Sea, and principally by Turkey and Algeria. Figs grow in nearly all warm countries, and superior table figs are found in many localities, including our Southern States and California; but none, when dried, has been found to compare with the so-called Smyrna fig, which has heretofore been grown successfully in Mediterranean regions only. California figs have been dried, and have sold at from 7½ cents to 10 cents per pound; but, in the autumn, as soon as the crop of Smyrna figs for the year begins to appear in the market, the price of the California product drops, and it has practically no sale.

Now, it is certainly not the habit of the United States to allow herself to drop behind any other part of the world; and this characteristic is particularly in evidence in California. That State would not rest under the imputation that she could not supply the world's markets with dried figs equal or superior to those exported from Smyrna and Algiers; so, in 1881, there began a series of experiments which, at last, during the present year, has been crowned with success.

The first step was to secure the Smyrna fig trees. This was begun in 1881 by Mr. G. P. Rixford, of the San Francisco "Bulletin," who imported 14,000 cuttings, and distributed them to prominent fruit-growers. When these trees came into bearing, however, the fruit failed to mature, dropping to the ground after reaching the

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size of a marble. It was then thought that the deceitful Smyrniotes had sold us the wrong variety, aiming to keep their monopoly intact, and many growers dug up their young trees in disgust.

Then Dr. Eisen, late of the California Academy of Sciences, showed that since before the Christian Era, as pointed out by many early writers, Aristotle and Theophrastus among them, it has been the custom of the Orientals to pluck the fruit of the wild, or so-called Capri, fig-trees at a certain time of the year, and to suspend them in the branches of the Smyrna or cultivated fig-trees. He pointed out also that there issued from the wild figs a little insect, which, covered with pollen, entered the cultivated figs, and that the latter afterwards developed and ripened into the beautiful, sweet Smyrna fruit. He further pointed out that the young Smyrna fig contains female flowers only; that without the introduction of pollen the seeds will not form, and that upon the formation and maturing of the seeds depend the persistence and ripening of the fig, which is not a fruit of the ordinary kind, but a receptacle filled with a mass of small flowers.

It appeared, therefore, that the next step to take was to introduce and establish the wild, or Capri, fig, with its male, pollen-bearing flowers, and then the little insect which carries the pollen. Here the United States Department of Agriculture took a hand, and imported many cuttings of the Capri fig, while an enterprising firm of nurserymen at Fresno imported and planted a large stock of both Smyrna figs and Capri figs.

When the wild figs came into bearing, in 1890 and 1891, their pollen was artificially introduced with a small quill into a few young Smyrna figs, fertilizing their flowers, and causing them to persist and ripen. Then they were dried, and it was found that, although the number of seeds was small, the nutty, aromatic flavor of the Smyrna fig was evident.

To hand-pollenize an orchard of Smyrna figs in this way would have been too great a task, and the next step was an effort to introduce and establish the fertilizing insect. Several efforts to accomplish this result were made by private enterprise. The little insect was brought over alive in Capri figs, and issued in this country, but without reproducing. Then, in 1899, convinced that the conditions were at last favorable, the United States Department of Agriculture again took hold, and, through one of its travelling agents, secured over-wintering Capri figs in Algeria, and sent them to California. These figs, in the spring of 1899, gave forth the beneficial insects in

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the Fresno fig orchards. All through the summer of that year the insects bred undisturbed, passing through four generations, and increasing in numbers; and the winter of 1899-1900 was successfully passed by them in small figs upon three trees protected from the frosts by a canvas shelter. In the spring of 1900 they issued, laid eggs, and another generation developed in the wild figs, and at the proper time were transferred to the Smyrna trees, where they entered the figs and pollenized them, just as their ancestors have done for unnumbered generations in Mediterranean countries.

The Smyrna figs did not drop to the ground, as they had been doing every year since 1889, when the trees first began to bear. They again ripened, and in August and September fifteen tons were harvested! Of these, six tons were dried and packed. These figs have been tested chemically and found to contain 1.4 per cent more sugar than the imported figs. Moreover, unprejudiced experts have unanimously declared them to be superior to the imported product.

This great success means much to the United States. In 1895 we imported 13,440,604 pounds of Smyrna figs, the valuation of which was $698,894. After the adoption of the tariff law of 1897, which fixed an import duty at 2 cents per pound, shipments to this country decreased, and the importations for 1898 amounted to 7,992,554 pounds, with a valuation of $382,784. In 1899, the importations were 8,535,967 pounds, having a valuation of $504,800. In the near future these importations will be practically stopped, as our whole country will be supplied with home-grown dried figs.

But this feature by no means comprises all the possibilities of the industry. America will compete with the Mediterranean countries in the open markets of the world. The character of the product, even of this first year's crop, shows it to be superior to the Oriental product, both from chemical analysis and from expert opinion. Experience gained this year assures a much better result next year, not necessarily in the quality of the fruit itself, but in methods of drying and packing and of producing an attractive product for the market. Cleanliness in packing, prevention of the disgusting worms so often found in the imported Smyrna figs, and other similar points will be carefully attended to by American packers. At present there are by no means enough trees growing in California to bring about this result; but the right varieties will be planted by the thousands during the coming year, and in four or five years will be producing substantial crops.

L. O. Howard.

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THE PURPOSE OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

The agitation for the reform of the civil service began in this country nearly forty years ago. The inception of the movement was not far behind the first step actually taken by Great Britain, where the merit system was partially established in 1855. It was in progress before admissions to the English service were based solely upon open competitive examinations. During these many years this democratic reform has advanced slowly and sometimes haltingly. Still, the merit system is established. It is criticised; it is ridiculed; it is bitterly assailed; it is neglected by those whose duty it is to promote it; it is even forced backward by those who have promised that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended. Nevertheless, as Mr. McKinley said in his inaugural address, "the people heartily approve the law." If they continue to approve it, we need not fear the repeal of the statute, the complete abrogation of the rules and regulations, or a second starvation of the commission.

However, in all political movements, and especially in all reform movements, in a democracy, popular approval and ultimate success are dependent upon the maintenance of public interest. Whether Mr. McKinley intended the quoted phrase as a kindly warning to the spoils politicians or whether he intended it to explain his own verbal approval of the reform, the phrase actually does embody the reason why the reform has been, thus far, comparatively safe.

That enmity has been felt against it is evident not so much from the speeches and conduct of Congressmen as from the successful attitude of the President himself, and from the evasions and silence of this year's party platforms. This silence especially is menacing. It is the sign that the spoilesmen are hoping that they may possibly accomplish through the distraction of public attention the evil which they have not been able to attain by direct and open war. They hope that the Spanish war, with its consequences and problems, its excitements and domestic antagonisms, will obliterate the subject of civil service reform from the country's mind, so that it will eventually

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cease to be the object of that militant concern which is essential, not so much perhaps to its preservation as to its necessary advancement.

In 1892, in his annual address before the National Civil Service Reform League, Mr. Curtis said, "Distrust is . . . the instinct of enlightened political sagacity;" and if ever there is immediate and pressing need of the awakening of that distrust, it is when the men in power suddenly become silent concerning an issue in which their prerogatives are involved. Now, the prerogative of using public offices as their own property, to be exploited for their own advantage, is the dearest possession of the ordinary politicians; and it is natural that an attempt should be made at this time by the enemies of the merit system to undermine the few fastnesses which civil service reformers have succeeded in erecting. Moreover, it is not surprising that the enemies of the law should be working under the cover of darkness. It is, therefore, essential that the reformers should see to their defenses, and especially to that principal defense of which Mr. McKinley spoke so feelingly, not only in his inaugural address, but in his first annual message — the defense of popular approval.

There is, perhaps, no better way to revive public interest in the cause than to recall to mind the scope and purpose of the reform — the end to which this democratic movement must make its way — and to point out how short a distance we have travelled toward the goal which other nations have reached.

It was the purpose of the commission which was appointed by President Grant, and of which George William Curtis was chairman, to create such a civil service for the United States as had then been established in Great Britain by the Order in Council of 1870. In other words, it was Mr. Curtis's intention to bring at once under classification practically all the civil servants of the government, except those who are required by law to be nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate. In its first annual report, made in 1871, the Curtis commission said: "Admission to the higher grades of employment in the civil service by promotion is another cardinal condition of a sound system." By the "higher grades of employment" Mr. Curtis and his associates did not mean nearly the highest, but actually the highest, offices that are non-political. They did not intend to take out of politics the lowest clerkships only, on the ground that the tasks of those who fill them are non-political, while leaving to the spoilsmen the highly-paid places of authority, the duties of which are equally non-political. They intended to construct a logical

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and rational system; and, therefore, they never contemplated a service composed of experts in the lower places, under control of spoilsmen, renewable every four years. If the Curtis regulations had been carried into effect, the open competitive examination system in this country would have been almost contemporaneous with the British system, and our civil service to-day would have been on a much better basis.

Laying aside, for the moment, the strife into which the reformers have been thrust for the defence of the system as it stands, the reform has made its first step only. It is far from being as complete as its enemies imagine. It has not gone nearly so far as its friends intend to carry it, which ought to be even further than Mr. Curtis and his official associates of thirty years ago had hoped for. As Mr. Schurz said in his annual address of 1895, before the National League:

> "The problem remains, how to secure, by further conquest, what we have won; for the results the reform movement has achieved will not be entirely safe until its success is complete — until the spoils system is *totally* abolished, and the new order of things has supplanted it in the ordinary ways of thinking and the political habits of the people."

There can be no doubt that the problem will be solved satisfactorily to the reformers if the struggle is maintained with the persistence, the courage, and the intelligence which have been thus far manifested. One of the great advantages which the reform enjoys is that it is in the hands of patriotic private citizens, who have no selfish ends to serve, who ask no offices from their fellow-citizens, and who are repaid for their efforts by the consciousness of having served their country. Such men naturally enjoy the confidence of the country, and their work is examined and tested respectfully. So long as they continue their efforts they are, therefore, likely to deserve and to gain the "popular approval" for which the politicians, in their turn, entertain and manifest respect and deference. It is merely a question, then, of going on with the work; and the larger and more accurate the view which the public has of the character and the purpose of the reform, the sooner are the antagonistic politicians likely to be awakened to the danger of their present attitude to themselves.

There is some ground for the popular belief that, in their present stages, civil service reform problems are confined to generally uninteresting details. It cannot be expected that the public will care very much for the discussion of the question as to what employés ought to be excepted from the classified service, although it would not be difficult, perhaps, to awaken the American sense of humor

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by an enlightened debate on the politicians' proposition, that a party "boss" can discover a better and more trustworthy cashier than can be possibly obtained by an impartial competitive mental examination of candidates properly recommended on the score of character. But if the country understands that this reform movement is not to stop until the whole non-political civil service is thrown open to all who are competent, that no purely administrative office is to remain the property of a party oligarchy, it will be comparatively easy for the civil service reformers to command the public attention and to retain the popular approval.

The reasons for putting the higher places of the civil service in the classified list are even stronger, in some respects, than those which have thrown open the lower places to all who can win them through competitive examinations. At least, it seems to be clear that it is better for the service to have ability and experience at the top instruct ignorance at the bottom than it is to have good material at the bottom under the control and direction of incapacity. This is not a fancied condition of affairs, for, under the present system, it has been found that, because of the lack of a well-administered system of promotions, one of the serious defects of the Federal service is the inability of the old spoilsmen in places of authority to direct advantageously the skilled persons who have obtained admission to the lower places through competitive examinations.

Not only does the failure to make merit alone the condition of appointment to all administrative offices put incompetence above competence, thereby depriving the Government of the full value of the competent, but it must operate to deter intelligent and ambitious youth from desiring to enter the service. The country will never have a perfectly satisfactory civil service until it provides a career for its civil employés, until those who enter the lowest clerkships through successful intellectual competition know that by the same fair method, and by the establishment of a sound reputation, they will enjoy the opportunity to work their way to the very top of the administrative service, beyond the point, as I have already said, where the first Curtis regulations would have stopped.

The ultimate object of the reform can be best illustrated by an examination of the English system and by a comparison of its achievements with our own progress. An instructive comparison, indeed, might also be made with the services of Germany and France; but the reform movements in England and the United States are

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more nearly akin. I shall, therefore, content myself with noting what progress these two nations have made, the attainments of the one and the way over which the other must travel to secure a civil service similar to that which, for efficiency and character, is so admirable that it ought to excite our envy and whet our purpose.

Since 1870 admission to the lower grades of the whole civil service of England has been through open competitive examination. Competition has been practically the rule since the first order issued in 1855; but until 1870 the persons examined were nominated by some one in power. In other words, patronage was not wholly abolished, although it was confined to nominations. From the first report of the first commission, made in 1856, we learn that the limitation of patronage extended throughout the service. It does not seem to have occurred to an English statesman that the higher places should be filled in any other way than by promotion from lower grades of the service itself. In the old times promotions furnished additional opportunities for favoritism, it is true; but the habit of mind which was bred of the practice of promotions — a habit so strong and ingrained that even the old patronage mongers never thought any other method of filling the higher places possible — was of enormous benefit to the merit system when it was finally established. When merit was once required for entrance into the service, merit alone, merit of mind and of character, controlled the career of the civil employé. It was the British Foreign Office which first required examinations for promotion as well as for entrance to the lower grades of the diplomatic service, Lord Clarendon having prescribed such an examination for unpaid *attachés* before their appointment as paid *attachés*.

The civil service of the British Empire offers a career to its members. Young men enter the diplomatic or consular corps, for example, as other young men enter the bar, medicine, business, or the military and naval service. They then begin their life work. Not only the clerical service of the foreign office, but the diplomatic and consular services are entered through examinations, although, in this service, competition is not required. In order to begin his career as a diplomat, a young Englishman must pass an examination in writing English and French, as well as in translating French into English, English into French, and either German, Latin, Spanish, or Italian into English. He must possess a general knowledge of geography, of modern history, and especially of the history of the country to which he is about to proceed, if his post has been selected.

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On entering upon the consular service the candidate is examined as to his knowledge of foreign languages, especially of French. He must also know something of British mercantile law and of the law governing the relations of masters and seamen. The *attaché* is required to spend six months, and the consul, if practicable, also six months, of probation in the foreign office. Once entered into the service, the young man has his profession, and his future is largely dependent on himself. Neither favor nor party services can advance him, and there is no sure way for the ambitious man to succeed except by gaining the confidence and respect of his chief, who makes promotions. The clerk who begins at an annual salary of $500 may rise by successive promotions to be a first-class junior clerk, in which grade he may earn $2,225; to be a senior clerk at $5,000; chief clerk at $6,250; and under secretary at $10,000.

The Inland Revenue Department, which corresponds with our own Internal Revenue Department, is presided over by five commissioners. These commissioners are appointed directly by the political power, that is, by the ministry in office. The board, however, is not of the political power; and the commissioners do not go out of office, as our Commissioner of Internal Revenue does, with the administration. They hold office during good behavior, and have earned their honors in the service. All employés in this great department, including collectors, enter the service by the doorway of examinations, and rise by promotion. The salaries range from about $350 to $10,000 a year. The customs service is also under the control of a commission, and what is true of the Inland Revenue Service, in respect to the appointment and tenure of the commission, is true of this also.

These boards have charge of the discipline of all the tax collectors of the kingdom and of the necessary clerks and other subordinates of their departments. They also make the promotions, following the rule of seniority, when possible, but considering merit mainly. Sometimes the employé's deserts are established by a record of his work and character; sometimes they are discovered by examination.[1]

One important fact should always be borne in mind in considering the British service and in comparing it with our own. Those who

[1] The British clerical service differs from our own in the matter of grading, the grades being arranged according to the character of work instead of the amount of pay, and promotion from a lower to a higher grade has not always been certain. Formerly, where it has occurred, it was gained by seniority. But the report of Sir Matthew White Ridley's Commission of 1890 recommended promotion by merit

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select the employés who are to be advanced are themselves permanent officials. They are not under the control or influence of politicians. Indeed, it is the tradition throughout the kingdom that the chances of a candidate are injured by an application or a recommendation in his behalf by a member of the House of Commons. Those who make the promotions are interested solely in improving the efficiency of the service for which they are responsible. It is, therefore, safe to give them a discretion which must be denied to those whose official life depends wholly upon the favor of an administration or a party, and who, therefore, find it well-nigh impossible to refuse to yield to political influence and power. The commissioners of customs have also charge of the collectors of the ports of the United Kingdom. All the employés of the custom houses are under the jurisdiction and protection of the merit system. The collectors themselves, instead of being the party leaders of the localities where their custom houses are situated, earn their honorable and responsible places through their own merit. The collectors of some of the large ports, like those of London and Liverpool, are selected from the body of collectors of all the ports. The collectorship of London is, therefore, within the possibility of the attainment of the inspector who

alone. The report said: "We think that routine promotion by seniority is the great evil of the service, and that it is indispensable to proceed through every branch of it strictly on the principle of promotion by merit."

I am indebted to the Federal Civil Service Commission for the following note on the British colonial system:

"The colonial service, with respect to the control of officials, is divided into two general classes, the first, where the Home government controls the appointments and promotions (the general colonial service) and the second, the self-governing colonies, where the Home government has control of no office except that of governor. To this latter class belong Canada, Newfoundland, Natal, Cape Colony, Queensland, New Zealand, Victoria, New South Wales, South Australia, Tasmania, and Western Australia, and the appointments and promotions in the public service of these countries is regulated by statutes which follow in the line of the British orders in council; seniority, modified by considerations of merit or special qualifications, being the general basis of promotions. In the general colonial service, controlled by the Colonial office, open competition is the rule in appointments, the larger number of the employés in responsible positions coming from England, though natives of the colony fill many of the lower grades and occasionally rise to high positions. Seniority and merit, the latter more than the former, rule in promotions, and competent officials rise in course of time, by transfer from one colony to another as well as by promotion in the particular colony to which they are first assigned, to the highest posts. The Colonial office, however, always reserves the right to appoint to high positions from the outside, though these exceptions to the general rule are rare, and are principally confined to occasions when a special knowledge of some profession, as of law, or where peculiar familiarity with the colony, may be required.

"The civil service for India, on account of its size, and the immense population, is the subject of special regulations, but here, as elsewhere,

"'Long service, as a rule, results in promotion and increase of salary, but there is such a thing as an officer being so stupid or so indolent as to be outstripped by one who enters the service later and shows superior brightness and efficiency.'"

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meets you at the port of Southampton or who marks your luggage on its way from Calais to Dover.

The post-office of England is managed by a permanent under secretary. In small offices the few clerks required are first recommended by the postmasters and are appointed after an examination. In the large offices they are appointed through an open competitive examination. The postmasters are selected from the whole service. Again, in this service, as in the Treasury and the revenue services, he who enters at the bottom may hope to win the highest prize in his branch of the public service. When Mr. Eaton published his history of the civil service in Great Britain, the postmaster at Liverpool had held his place thirty-eight years, and the postmaster of London had filled the office for forty-five years.

The English administrative system is permanent. Only those officers who are political or those employés whose relations with the heads of the departments are purely personal go out with an administration which has lost or surrendered power. It is estimated that the government loses the services of a few score persons when a cabinet resigns. That this unchanging character of the body of men who carry on the details of British administration has been of enormous advantage to the public service, both at home and abroad, is familiar knowledge to all who are acquainted with contemporaneous governments. The recorded facts of our own incomplete reform are also a sufficient answer to the spoilsman who denies that the civil service has been improved by the enforcement of the Pendleton Act.

In the British service we see the merit system far advanced; in our own we have only the first steps toward thorough reform. In England the reform proceeded directly from the executive; in this country it was initiated by act of Congress. One consequence of this legislative initiative is that those officers who are nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate are not included in the merit system. There are probably also a great many more excepted places than there would have been if the executive had regulated the exercise of his own power. Congress, however, has confined the operation of the system to those "inferior offices" which, under the permission of the Constitution, it has directed to be filled by the heads of departments. Even here it is not absolutely controlling; for a number of so-called fiduciary and other places, numbering 12,000, are excepted, although in the classified service. There is not only no good reason for this restriction, but the fundamental and

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essential purpose of the reform is defeated by it. The long years of struggle in behalf of the merit system were not endured simply that the government might obtain better copyists or that the tenure of laborers might be made more secure; not to drive the spoilsmen from the lower places alone, but from the entire civil service, to the end that public employment might no longer be confined to the friends and relatives of politicians, but might be open to all American citizens. It has the further objects of bettering the service and relieving the executive and legislative branches of the government of the burden of patronage, a burden which consumes time and energy that ought to be devoted to the larger general interests of the country.

Among the important gains of a real merit system is the establishment of a civil service career, such a career as will tempt the able and ambitious man to choose public employment for his life's work. No young man of intellectual promise, high character, and ambition, unless compelled by hard conditions, will deliberately enter upon an employment whose possibilities of advancement are bounded by an $1,800 clerkship; nor will a system of public service, of which this is true, modify in any but a slight degree the educational system of the country. The only system which will give to the country the best possible civil service will open the highest as well as the lowest places to merit alone, and will close them all to party influences and to personal favoritism. We have not yet proposed such a system in this country. Indeed, we do not possess as good a system as we seem to have, for the reason that the statutory provision requiring that promotions be made by means of the test of examination is evaded. When a fourth-class clerk can make his own way to the headship of a bureau; when a consular clerk can see, as the crown of his career, the consul-generalship at London; when an *attaché* can win an ambassadorship; when a clerk in the post-office or in the railway mail service may hope some day to contest for the postmastership of a great city; when an appraiser can look forward to a collectorship; then we shall have a complete service, and then, too, young men will find at the schools and universities the means for training themselves for public careers.

In seventeen years the classified service has increased from 13,924 to about 80,000. When Mr. Arthur's term expired, 15,573 employés were in the classified service. Mr. Cleveland added nearly 12,000 to this number during his first term. Chief among his inclusions were the employés of the railway mail service. Mr. Harrison added

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more than 15,000; and in his administration the laborers in the navy yards were first registered. In Mr. Cleveland's second term the classified list was increased to 86,932. Mr. McKinley has added 57 customs employés, and has excepted about 11,000 persons before included in the classified service. Among those restored to the 100,000 or more places reserved for party spoils are deputy internal revenue collectorships, office deputy marshalships, and pension examining boards, all belonging to the very grades that must be classified if the service is to advance.

Theoretically, the whole clerical force of the departmental customs, and internal revenue services, and the post-offices are within the classified list. In reality, many chief clerks and heads of divisions go out with each expiring administration. Besides the important clerical places in the departments and outside offices, and the regularly excepted places, there are open to the spoilsmen the diplomatic and consular services, the high administrative offices of the customs and internal revenue, all postmasters, including more than 71,000 fourth-class postmasters, and the heads of bureaus at Washington.

The obvious objection to the inclusion of the diplomatic and consular services in the existing system is that such an inclusion would be an interference with the constitutional prerogative of the President to nominate; and, after confirmation by the Senate, to appoint ambassadors, other public ministers, consuls, etc. In the first place, it may be answered to this objection that the law of Congress and the existing rules and regulations made in pursuance of it do not prevent the President from following the example of the British executive, from voluntarily placing restrictions upon his own power of nomination. On the contrary, President Cleveland and Secretary Olney actually adopted a plan of their own, requiring that certain vacancies in the consular service should be filled by promotion from the service itself, or by transfer of an employé of the State Department to the service, or by original appointment after a satisfactory examination; and if the executive so desires, he may, by a single order, put an end to all that is left of the spoils system.

Moreover, it is doubtful if Congress has not the power to limit and regulate the President's power of nomination, just as it has been held to have the power to limit the appointing power in the filling of inferior offices, by confining the choice to a specified class; that is, to the intelligent and the worthy. In respect of one officer who is named by the President and confirmed by the Senate, Congress has

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already exercised the right of limitation; for, under section 325 of the Revised Statutes, the President's appointment of the Comptroller of the Currency must be made upon the recommendation of the Secretary of the Treasury. If this statute is constitutional, certainly it is within the power of Congress to require that ministers and ambassadors shall be selected from those within the diplomatic service; that consuls generals shall be promoted from the body of consuls; and that entrance to both services shall be by examination. It is also probably within the power of Congress to provide that collectors, postmasters, and bureau chiefs shall be appointed by promotion from their respective services. Indeed, as to these officers, Congress may treat them as inferior, within the meaning of the Constitution, and may thus bring them within the purview of the Pendleton act. There is really no reason why comptrollers and auditors of the Treasury, postmasters, and collectors of ports and of the internal revenue service should be confirmed by the Senate. But whether Congress can act or not, or if it will not act, the President has the power to complete the reform of the civil service, to establish a system similar to that whose enormous advantages, both practical and moral, have been demonstrated by the experience of Great Britain.

It is in the nature of democracy to move slowly, because it moves generally through its many-headed, often discordant, legislative branch. Under popular rule, years are required for the accomplishment of what can be attained in a monarchical government by the stroke of a sovereign's or a premier's pen. But while the way before the civil service reformer is long, and the toil arduous, the end to be reached is obvious. The purpose of the movement is the establishment of a service divorced from party politics and affording a career to those who enter it. Probably many years will elapse before this end will be attained. It may be that the reformers will have a hard and bitter struggle in order to prevent further retrogression. The politicians who are opposed to the reform are more threatening, perhaps more dangerous, than they have been before for a long time. But the popular movement will win in the end; and when the victory is gained we shall have hardly any more changes in our civil service on a change of administration than the English now have through the operation of the order of 1870. Then political heads of departments, the members of the Cabinet, will go out with the retiring President; but some assistant secretaries of the other departments will remain, just as some of the assistant secretaries of the State Depart-

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ment now remain. The comptrollers and auditors of the Treasury, commissioners and collectors of customs, commissioners and collectors of internal revenue, assistant postmaster-generals, postmasters, the Comptroller of the Currency, and bank inspectors, will then be men bred and educated in their various technical duties, men who have risen to be the heads of their offices and bureaus by reason of their superior skill and character.

When the end to be gained is considered, and the length of the journey is estimated, the real importance of the order of May 29, 1899, becomes apparent. The question involved is of vastly greater moment than that which the defenders of the order have discussed. It is not, for example, simply the question as to whether the law, in making a collector responsible for his deputy, clothes him with the power of selection and nomination; it is whether the whole movement shall go forward or backward. The denial of the propriety of including any administrative office in the classified list is an expression of hostility to the object of the reform, an object which has become of larger importance now that there rests upon Congress the duty of providing for colonial administrative services. The consequences of this order have been of almost immeasurable evil. It has not only injured the service, but it has encouraged the enemies of the system as they have not been encouraged since the passage of the Pendleton Act. Doubtless, more than any other single cause, the order is responsible for the silence of the party platforms, and for the uplifting of the bruised head of the spoils serpent.

Dissension and conflict, however, must be expected so long as our civil service system stops short of that completion which the British service attained almost at the adoption of the competitive merit system. So long as there are places for spoilsmen, so long will the spoilsmen clamor for more.

As the foregoing statements represent the kind of struggle in which the reformers are engaged, and since "popular approval" is their strongest ally, it is best that they should disclose to the country, and keep before it, their whole important and interesting programme, and their ultimate purpose, "until," as Mr. Schurz has said, "the spoils system is *totally* abolished, and the new order of things has supplanted it in the ordinary ways of thinking and the political habits of the people."

HENRY LOOMIS NELSON.

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MAX MÜLLER AND HIS WORK.

"WHO Was Max Müller?" if I rightly recall, was the title of a clever skit by a bright young Irishman, whose amusing Celtic wit turned Max Müller's life and work into a myth by applying to it the same method of imaginative and reconstructive criticism that the renowned philologian himself had so spiritedly employed in his own writings on mythological subjects. The idea of the jest was good; yet, "Who was Max Müller?" is a question that no one nowadays needs to ask, for it is the happy lot of few scholars to be so widely known throughout the intelligent world; and whatever may be the varying judgment of specialists regarding the lasting character of his work, Max Müller stands to the public, and rightly stands, as the best known name in linguistic studies and in Oriental research. A German by birth, an Englishman by adoption, a cosmopolitan in the breadth of his interest and in the scope of his mind, he may safely be said to have done more than any other man of his time toward arousing interest in the subjects with which his name is associated, and toward making the general knowledge about them more widely known.

The announcement of his death, last October, when ripe in years and rich in honors, was an announcement that touched the heart of many a one who had long known his name; and his burial from Westminster Abbey with not only scholars and literary men in attendance, but with representatives of royalty to show respect to his name, was an honor accorded to not every worker in the field. The close of such a life calls up a train of thoughts as to the career of the gifted scholar and as to the contributions which he made to the fund of human knowledge.

The old town of Dessau, on the banks of the Elbe, was his birthplace. Little could the good burghers of this small capital of the Duchy of Anhalt-Dessau have fancied then, seventy-seven years ago, that one of the world's future famous scholars was born into their midst. A poet's blood flowed in the child's veins. The sweet lyrics of his father, Wilhelm Müller, when linked with the melody of Schubert's

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musical spirit, have touched a tender chord in thousands of German hearts. The boy Friedrich Maximilian, for so he was called, inherited a poetic imagination, therefore, as his birthright.

It is this self-same soul and poetic temperament that has given to Müller's writing on even the driest, most prosaic, or recondite subjects the grace and charm which we all have admired. "I am the son of a poet," he says, "and I have tried hard all my life not to be a poet myself;" or, as he goes on to tell, "in my own prosaic work I have had to suffer all my life from suppressed poetry, as one suffers from suppressed gout." We may forgive his painful simile for the light which the statement throws upon much of his work and for the help which it gives us in judging of his personality and of his position.

Brought up, as he was, amid gentle surroundings, and accustomed as a boy to the presence of persons of more or less distinction in the minor ducal life, we can also understand certain traits in his character and conceive the quicker how ready he was to embrace his opportunities for future eminence, which he did with ever growing success. Keenly sensitive to appreciation, fond of recognition, even courting admiration, which came to him in abundance as life went on, we can also see why his older scholarly friends and fellow-workers were sometimes fond of calling him "the great Max," or of referring with good-natured banter to his susceptibility to display and to royal patronage. *Viel Ehr, viel Feind;* and no more touching apology can be made to it all than the tender one he lets fall incidentally in his chapter on "Recollections of Royalty," when he speaks of this very characteristic of reverence or susceptibility, as due to "the reverence which I imbibed with my mother's milk for my own Duke and my own Duchess of Anhalt-Dessau." Truly we may say that if he imbibed that characteristic from his mother it was well, for his admiration for that mother was evidently unbounded. She was beautiful; and his gratitude to her for all that she meant to his youthful life — since his father died when the lad was but four years old — was extremely keen. He proved a true and faithful son in rendering his mother's memory and his father's name the better known by his own distinction in the world.

Something may be next said about the influences which shaped his early life. The earliest years of his boyhood were filled with music. The home was a musical home, the youth's first recollections were of music, and his first ambition was to become a noted musician. This love of music he never lost; but circumstances led him into other

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fields of labor, and busy fields they were. It is easy for us to-day to recognize that he was early marked for distinction; and when his youthful school days in his native town were over, and it was time for him to enter the university, he was drawn to Leipzig. Classical studies naturally first attracted him with the attraction that they have for men of culture and refinement; and, to the end, his writings show that acquaintance with the Greek and Roman masters which marks the thoroughness of German training and German discipline.

But now his eye caught the early rays of Oriental studies which had burst forth with splendid promise among the European scholars of the first half of the century. His heart was fired, and he determined to devote himself to Sanskrit, with which branch of research his name is so closely connected. Brockhaus, the Leipzig professor of Sanskrit, was his first teacher, and in 1843 the youthful scholar, at the age of twenty, was ready for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. He had begun at once to contribute to our knowledge of ancient India by translating the Book of Good Counsel, or "Hitopadeça," one of the Hindu classics. A year later, at Berlin, brings him under the founder of Comparative Philology, Franz Bopp. We can judge of the pride which the master felt in his gifted and attractive young pupil. Here, too, he came under Schelling in philosophy, and he met Humboldt. But, best of all, he was brought into contact with one whose reputation stands secure in German letters — the Orientalist and poet, Friedrich Rückert.

Max Müller himself tells us how little enthusiastic the illustrious poet-professor was about receiving pupils or giving lectures. Full of ardor from his Leipzig studies, the youthful Müller wished to take up Persian at Berlin. "But why study Persian?" was Rückert's rejoinder; for he evidently shrank from giving the course. The answer was presented and the reason was a good one; but still Rückert hesitated, for no just claim could be made upon him to give a course for a single student. A class of three must be first formed. So out into the philological highways and byways of the university went our untiring young "Doctor" until he had drummed up two other recruits for the Persian course. This number completed the requisite muster roll, and the class must be held: no loop-hole for escape remained longer to the reluctant professor. The course began, and, as the work went on, Rückert's shyness and reserve wore off and gave place to devotion to his pupils, which the Germans so well know how to give, and to enthusiastic admiration at the progress of his

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students. A rare satisfaction it must have been in later years to the great Rückert to think that one of these drummed-up recruits was Paul de Lagarde, foremost in Semitic studies, and the other Max Müller. *Non quanti sed quales* would have been a motto for such a class.

From this point forward we may trace our young scholar's career to Paris. He now was brought under the influence of Eugène Burnouf, so well known as an early worker in the Avesta, beside the Sanskrit. From Burnouf came the suggestion which had so great an effect upon Max Müller's future researches. The time was ripe for an edition of the "Veda," or earliest hymns of the Aryan race. It was the advice of his preceptor Burnouf that sent Max Müller to England in 1846 to prepare himself for making such an edition. Arriving there he took up with a will the work upon the Vedic manuscripts in London, and especially at Oxford, which then became his adopted home. This much of his biography it is necessary to know, for it is always interesting, as well as instructive, to trace the moulding influences upon a gifted mind, and that mind such a one as Max Müller's.

As it is upon his early contributions to the cause of Vedic studies that Max Müller's reputation in scholarly circles chiefly rests, it is appropriate to pay more attention to this department of his many-sided activity. The layman is glad to know more about the story and the specialist listens to it with interest again. Through the kind offices of the distinguished Sanskritist, Horace Hayman Wilson, the East India Company, in 1847, commissioned the still youthful scholar to undertake an edition of the Vedic texts at their expense. The first volume appeared in 1849, when he was twenty-six years old; the sixth and last volume was published in 1873, when he was fifty. A second edition was issued in 1889-92, this time under the patronage of the Maharajah of Vijayanagara. The publication of the Max Müller edition of the "Rig-Veda," or Sacred Hymns of the Brahmans, not only gave scholars a handsome edition of the text, but it also put into their hands the native Sanskrit commentary of Sāyana, whose later version and exegesis of the ancient hymns is one of the most useful and important tools in the workshop of Vedic investigators. Whatever may be said regarding the length of time consumed in the issue of the edition, or the method pursued in its preparation, or, again, regarding the extent of Müller's real share in it — and there has been much polemical writing on the subject — the "Rig-Veda"

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edition remains to-day a lasting monument to his name, and stands as the publication upon which, most of all, he valued his reputation.

It was shortly after the first volume of the edition of the "Veda" was published that Max Müller received the Deputy Professorship of Modern European Languages and Literature at Oxford. The statutes of this foundation called for "three courses of lectures in every year, on the philology or literature of some of the principal languages of Europe." We can see that possibly this may have had something to do with the many-sidedness of his work, and with calling him out into the broader domain of scholarship, so as to appeal to a larger audience. It is equally true that this was sympathetic to the natural tendency of his mind, but he complains that the duties then involved made it necessary for him to lay aside his favorite studies. Yet we may be glad, after all, that this was the case, for it broadened him, like his librarian duties at the Bodleian, and bore fruit in other ways than in Sanskrit philology.

Titles of books and dates of publication, with similar incidents, belong not here, but to the encyclopædia or to the biographer; yet I cannot refrain from mentioning two books which stand marked among Max Müller's contributions to Indian research. They were published a generation apart, and they help us the better to estimate his position in the Oriental department as elsewhere.

One of these was an early book — "A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature" — which embodies the results of his preliminary work in preparing for his edition of the "Rig-Veda." Although this work was published so long ago as 1859, it still ranks as a standard of its class, as a monument of early achievement. This must never be forgotten; and we may point to it when Max Müller's later popularizing tendency is spoken of.

The other book which I shall mention is "India: What Can It Teach Us?" This formed a series of lectures which he delivered before the University of Cambridge in 1883. In this publication the popular side outweighs the scientific and technical side; he has relegated the more erudite material to the appendixes. But his theory of a Renaissance of Sanskrit literature, as propounded in the volume, set all scholars a-thinking and a-writing, even if it were only to combat or overthrow his hypothesis of a literary interregnum of several centuries in early India, with a reflorescent period of productive activity at a later time.

Another distinction I may recall while speaking of his Sanskrit

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contributions; it came from his Fatherland in the form of a special testimony to his scholarship. When the German Government in 1872 established the new university at Strassburg, after the Franco-Prussian war, Max Müller was invited to accept the chair of Sanskrit. He declined the position; but, as an acknowledgment of the honor conferred upon him, he went to Strassburg that winter and delivered a course of lectures at the young institution. In recognition of the compliment, the German Government at once established a university prize scholarship in Sanskrit, which was to bear his name. News has also come of a movement on foot in England, since his death, to start a research fund for promoting Indian studies, in commemoration of his services to the cause.

On the title-page of his "Auld Lang Syne," Max Müller calls himself "Author of the 'Science of Language,' etc." Whatever we may think of them now, everybody knows that his lectures on the "Science of Language," forty years ago, meant a new era for many scholars in England and elsewhere. We well know the inspiration that came from them; and we can picture the enthusiasm with which his words were hailed as a popular oracle when he spoke at the Royal Institution. "Albemarle street became crowded with fashionable carriages, and people could hardly find places in order to hear all about Aryan roots and our Aryan ancestors and our common Aryan home somewhere in Asia."

Specialists may seek — and it is not uncommon — to detract from the name of one who could render such abstract subjects popular. There are also enough to-day ready to take issue on the view that places the cradle of the Aryan race "somewhere in Asia;" or again, precisionists can claim on good grounds that the term "Aryan" should be confined simply to India and Persia, and not used generally for Indo-European or Indo-Germanic. But let us not forever be picking flaws. "Our own descendants will wonder at our ignorance, at the things we should have known," said Seneca once. If Max Müller was able to bring down his science from the clouds to dwell among men, as Socrates did philosophy, let us be glad of it, as we were when our own renowned Whitney laid aside his technical researches to give us some of the more general results of ripe scholarship and his vast erudition. The office of a popularizer is a sacred calling; and when we have one who proves himself to be a scholar of the highest attainments, let us rejoice in this "combination and form indeed."

To the same line of linguistic research belongs the "Chips From a

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German Workshop." This was no dry basket smothered in sawdust. It was a collection of writings filled with life and spirit. We can hear the sharp ring of the steel as the workman plies his tools; and it is interesting to enter this shop. Words to Max Müller were no dead, cold, and unmeaning combinations of letters and syllables. To him there was no such thing as "words only." "Every new word," as he says, "represented a most momentous event in the development of our race. What people call 'mere words' are in truth the monuments of the fiercest intellectual battles, triumphal arches of the greatest victories won by the intellect of man. . . . Every word is the palace of a human thought, and in scientific etymology we possess the charm with which to call these ancient thoughts back to light." It is precisely this imaginative and poetic presentation of a philosophical or a philological problem that kindled the soul of many a young student. It is true that afterwards they may have had to depart from their master; but he had been their first guide. False positions, no doubt, were taken by the general; false movements, of course, were made; but nearly every move meant, all the same, an advance of the standard somewhere along the line. Lessons were taught even by manœuvres that proved failures; and in their fruits it will be the good fortune of many a younger scholar still to share.

From the study of language and comparative philology it was another step to the comparative study of religion. The note had already been sounded in his "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature" with its sub-title, "So far as it illustrates the primitive religion of the Brahmans." It had rung often enough in the "Chips." But the best distinction came when, as a layman, Max Müller was invited to speak at Westminster Abbey on the religions of the world. This was in 1873. From the outset he had recognized that the study of the early faith of India or of Persia, of Greece or of Rome, did not suffice, but that even the primitive forms of religion among savage tribes must be called in. This, in short, passes over into anthropology; and the Hibbert lectures on the "Origin and Growth of Religion," in 1878, and the series of Gifford lectures on "Natural Religion," "Physical Religion," "Anthropological Religion," and "Theosophy or Psychological Religion," from 1890 to 1892, prove the truth of this attitude. In fact, in all his writings Max Müller never lost sight of the religious bearing of the subject which he treated or of the importance of the studies in which he was interested for the history of the religious thought of the world.

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Not only was the study of comparative religion enriched by his hand, but philosophers also owe him a debt because of his accomplishment of the difficult task of translating Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason." Those who are acquainted with Kant's metaphysical thought, best know the problem which was implied in rendering the German into the English. And one further contribution in the philosophical line must be recorded. Almost his last piece of work was "The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy," published in 1898–99. In this solid volume of over six hundred pages he has given the best general presentation that we have, as yet, of the whole system of Indian speculative thought.

To some readers — and the opening lines of this article will recall it — Max Müller is chiefly known by his contributions to comparative mythology. His sun myths and his dawn myths, and his interpretation of Vedic hymns in this manner, have left impressions as vivid and beautiful as the halo that shrouds them is evanescent or fleeting. None of his writings, perhaps, has called forth more spirited criticism and more violent opposition than the writings containing his views about myths and his mythological interpretations. Although the older school of comparative mythology has had to give place to a newer; although many of the comparisons between the pantheon of India and of Greece, which he never could relinquish, have been proved to be far-fetched or false; and although the dawn and the sun are not the burden of every problematic Vedic hymn — still, good has come of all this work. Our own attitude on mythological questions may be quite different or wholly opposed, but we must acknowledge that Max Müller's poetic imagination, with its flashes of genius, lighted up realms that have given a broader vision to our eyes and a wider horizon to our minds, even though deceptive shadows were often cast and false steps were sometimes taken as a result.

One special tribute of unqualified praise must be paid to Max Müller. It is that which is due to the extraordinary gift that he possessed for winning support for learned research and for getting assistance toward the publication of learned works. He had a rare talent for obtaining from persons in high positions and in high authority the aid which he needed for carrying on the cause which he had so much at heart. His noble series of translations, known as "The Sacred Books of the East" — numbering some fifty volumes — is a lasting testimony to the truth of this, and a wholesome lesson to other scholars. To be sure, only three of the numbers — two books

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of Upanishads and a selection of Vedic hymns — together with parts of three other volumes, came directly from his hand. But, better than that, he knew how to select other scholars as specialists to contribute the volumes in their particular departments of research; and, above all, he knew how to marshal his forces with admirable effect, so as to add most extensively to our existing knowledge of the Orient in antiquity. It will not be easy to find an editor to succeed him. Through Max Müller's influence, moreover, the King of Siam lent his royal patronage to a similar series of translations and editions, entitled "The Sacred Books of the Buddhists." It was this sort of talent that won him not only decorations by foreign potentates, but also a recognition of his scholarly merits by a membership in the French Academy and a Knighthood of the Prussian Order. Last, and chief of all, his work and his services to scholarship won for him admission to the Privy Council of the Queen of England.

It must not be forgotten, in closing, that English was to Max Müller an acquired tongue. He himself tells of the difficulties which he had with it when he first went to Oxford; but he mastered it as few foreigners have ever mastered it. His two volumes of reminiscences, entitled "Auld Lang Syne," form, in their way, a contribution to English literature. And yet, with it all, there lingers the love of his Fatherland. The sentiment of his "Deutsche Liebe" shows how much of his heart belongs to Germany; and in "Auld Lang Syne," when the thoughts of the aged scholar revert to his early home in the little German town, the sweetness and tenderness of his descriptions grow touching; while the pathetic picture of the poor German girl, heart-broken and betrayed in the city of London, with which he closes his chapter on "Beggars," brings a tear to the eye.

But Max Müller is no more. His name has been a watchword in certain branches of study for years. Few scholars live long enough to enjoy all the honors which come with the slow march of time. But there are disadvantages, too, when a scholar does not die at the very moment which the generation chooses to term the zenith of his fame. Opinions likewise may vary regarding the exact estimate of every distinguished scholar. In our estimate of Max Müller we shall not go far from the truth, I believe, if we accord him greatness, together with the failings which greatness often has to keep the balance true.

Opening, as he early did, the treasures of the East, he knew also how to present them to those who were outside the narrow band of fellow-workers. Full of enthusiasm for his subjects, he was capable

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of imparting to others a share of the ardor which he himself so keenly felt. Gifted with a poetic imagination, he had the faculty of throwing the halo of this about the theme upon which he worked, even though the logical insight was sometimes blinded as a consequence, or though the phantom light led him astray into false paths. Endowed with self-confidence, self-reliance, yes, self-complacency and pride at times, he was indomitable in furthering the cause to which he had pledged his heart and had devoted his hand. With a keen sense as to the work that was most important to do, and with a rare faculty for arousing others to work with him or for him in carrying this out, or, again, to inspiring others to lend support to it and to give contributions in most liberal manner, he performed for the cause of Oriental research a service for which a debt of gratitude will always be due his name.

And as his striking presence departs from our midst, new light seems to be ushered in from the Orient which he so dearly loved.

> "The morn, in russet mantle clad,
> Walks o'er the dew of yon high eastern hill,"

for in the East he was at home; and as the majestic figure fades from our vision, though not from our memory, the whispered words of the kneeling Hamlet rise to our lips: "A worthy pioneer!"

A. V. Williams Jackson.

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A CENTURY OF AMERICAN POETRY.

An "American Anthology" appearing just at the close of the century, and representing in well-chosen selections the whole development of poetry in America, from the first matin song of Philip Freneau to the many-voiced utterances of the latest generation, affords the reviewer the opportunity of considering the results of our first hundred years of singing, as respecting both the quality of individual writers and the general character and tendency of American poetry.

Before commencing our survey, a word of appreciation is due Mr. Edmund Clarence Stedman, the compiler of this "Anthology," who seems fitted, above all men of this generation, for the task of selecting and organizing the literary materials of our people. Born in 1833, and beginning his own career as a man of letters at the half-century mark, he has been intimately identified with the progress of American literature for full fifty years. As a poet in his prime he belonged to a period of transition, being in the rear guard of that grand army of poets that held in New England for half a century the bulwarks of idealism; and, living on into new conditions, beholding other manners, other men, he has marched with the more strenuous volunteer forces that have gone forth for other issues, though, perhaps, never quite able to comprehend the aims of the foremost. It happens that his own contribution to the "Anthology" occupies almost the central pages of the volume, and this medial position is really indicative of his critical function as writer and reconciler.

As a critic his theory is eclectic; and in practice he has been catholic and generous, never exclusively academic nor uncritically popular. An older man, like Lowell, would have been more perplexed than he by the new motives that have arisen in the consciousness of recent writers. If Lowell failed to understand his own neighbor, Thoreau, untamable and unreducible though he undoubtedly was, how hardly would western "rough writers" fare at his hands! A younger man, like Garland, fighting for his life against

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the intrenched traditions, would be more tempted to make light of Longfellow as one of his company of "crumbling idols" and to ignore transcendentalism altogether. Mr. Stedman holds all in the balance, and is capable of entertaining the shy transcendentalism of Jones Very, the passionate patriotism of Lowell, the free spirit of Garland, the heroic realism of Whitman, the sweet lyricism of women, and the sensuous, fawn-like, graces of Hovey's "Songs of Vagabondia." Another compiler might make a different book, larger or smaller, but I do not think it would be so representative, so fair, or so just a book as this "Anthology."

One is first amazed at the number of those who can "turn the golden rhyme" with such effect as to be deemed worthy a place in a representative collection of American poetry — a few more than five hundred and seventy by actual count. It would be interesting to know how many poetasters were rejected by Mr. Stedman and returned to that "Chamber of Horrors," where, it is said, he kept the minor poets in close confinement — perhaps a hundred songsters more of lesser wing. Five or six or seven hundred, however, count but few among the multitude of our people in a century of time, and if Democracy means anything it must mean the opening of opportunity to every poetic soul. It must be easier for aspiration to come to fruition in America than elsewhere, and probably in the twentieth century twice or thrice as many poets will be credited as found reception in the nineteenth.

Naturally, nearly all of these many singers belong to the minor order of poets. If it required ten religious centuries to produce Dante, as Carlyle averred, it may take as many secular ones to create the genuine bard of Democracy. Yet, America is not wanting in accredited voices, both representative and prophetic. Of the five hundred and seventy-three, two are major poets measured by almost any standard. Edgar Poe and Walt Whitman are conspicuous among American poets for their striking originality and intensive force. They belong to the order of Makers: each created a distinctive style; each contributed something precious that had not been in the world before; each gave evidence of unique experiences and new heights of vision; each has had a world-wide influence, inspiring other poets and becoming the founder of a school — the one of Symbolism the other of Democratism. The record of Poe's influence belongs to the history of European literature, particularly to that of France. In the present volume he is quite without following — none has reached his

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psychic altitudes — unless Hovey can be counted as a pupil; but Whitman's leadership is acknowledged by many of the younger writers in verses dedicated to his honor, in their employment of his free rhythms, and in their acceptance of his points of view. For Whitman, as Francis Howard Williams, a brother-poet, has said, "the day of deeper vision has begun." It is not unlikely that the nineteenth century will come to be divided by the future historian of our literature into the Age of Poe and the Age of Whitman.

A group of hill-poets, as Grant Allen might call them — those who dwell upon the uplands of song — make up a considerable company. Bryant, Emerson, Lanier, Riley, and Emily Dickinson have significance hardly less than the major writers: Bryant for his discovery of the poetic value of the American landscape; Emerson for his quaint exposition of transcendental lore; Lanier for his wonderful music; Riley for his dramatization of commonplace lives; Emily Dickinson for her whimsical expression of profound thought. These poets also originated, and originality has value in literature far beyond volume or technical skill. The poets do not travail for the world's delight, but to bring forth thought and feeling after their kind.

A secondary group of the upland poets, less original and not so intensive, in some respects, but still of noble port and influence — poets of the companionable order that connect lovingly with precedents and do not disturb our prejudices too harshly — would include, first of all, the pioneer, Philip Freneau, who, in his love of nature, in his patriotism, in his choice of the Indian and other native themes, was the teacher of the teachers. Dana, Pierpont, and Halleck were worthy predecessors of Bryant. Willis, Longfellow, Whittier, Holmes, Lowell, and Parsons lead in New England. New York has furnished Taylor, Stoddard, Stedman, Aldrich, Gilder, Winter, Woodberry, and Hovey. Chief among the Southerners are Simms, Hayne, Timrod, Cawein, Tabb, and Dunbar. From the West hail Piatt, Harte, Sill, Miller, Field, Cheney, Markham, Garland, Burton, and Moody. Foremost of the women are Louise Chandler Moulton, Helen Hunt Jackson, Emma Lazarus, Louise Guiney, Josephine Peabody, Edith Thomas, and Harriet Monroe. After them come the vast minor choir, whose voices are sweet but not strong, and yet who sound at moments some deeper notes.

It is well understood that any classification of American poets is at the present time wholly tentative. New types of genius have arisen who do not as yet fit into the traditional critical scheme. The

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criticism in force to-day is largely derivative from New England. Not content with writing the greater volume of our verse, the Eastern men have imposed their critical judgments upon the people at large. Recently there have been signs of a shifting of emphasis. Longfellow is losing importance, and writers like Riley are gaining. In Longfellow's sense of poetry, Riley has not written poetry so much as in a new and more democratic sense he has depicted life. In some way life has got into a book, with its own rhythms and accents; and the book does not read like a book, but is known like a person. The humanization of poetry may count for more in the twentieth century than Longfellow's poetization of humanity. Mere volume will not matter, else were we now burdened with Barlow's "Columbiad" and Dwight's "Conquest of Canaan," whose vast bulks are now hopelessly laid aside. While there might not be much dispute concerning the thirty or forty more important names of the "Anthology," there would be little agreement in the point of their valuation. But I think there can be little doubt that sincerity and truth to life will come to be considered as more significant than conventionalism and mere literary excellence.

It appears that in America it is as great to be a woman-poet as to be a man-poet. This "Anthology" is distinguished among books of the sort by the number of its women; the Marys, Annes, and Harriets appearing more than a third as often as the Johns, the Jameses, and the Williams. Moreover, some of the most original and melodious verse in the collection is contributed by women. There is nothing quite so quaint in the volume as certain bits of Emily Dickinson's. Her note is so individual, her source of inspiration is so interior, that she seems out of place in an "Anthology." The crowd of reputables must surely stifle her. It is not possible for a woman so delicate and shy to sing in a choir. What right have even Timrod and Hayne, chivalric Southerners though they be, to precede her, or has Will Harney, though he has given up the glory of the world for a Florida orange grove, to stand in her shadow? So peculiar is her family strain that an equal originality emerges in the poems of a niece, Martha Gilbert Dickinson. The quality of distinction is recognized also in the glowing prophetic periods of Emma Lazarus, the highly sensitized lyrics of Helen Jackson, the playful fancies of Katherine Lee Bates, and the exquisitely finished verses of Edith Thomas.

The close association of literature and life in America makes pertinent at this point the mention of a problem that is perhaps more socio-

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logical than strictly literary. It is seen that the women-poets jostle the men-poets in the perfect equality of the chronological scheme adopted for the volume. But their juxtaposition reveals clearly the inequality of men and women in respect to distinctive names. A century ago the confusion of our present name-system would not have been noticed in an "Anthology;" but at a time when nearly as many women are rising to distinction as men, the necessity of a name that shall identify a woman writer permanently, whatever her matrimonial vicissitudes may be, occasions a serious sociological problem. A man-poet, once his name and writings are associated in the public mind, is known by his surname; but a woman-poet, whatever her eminence, unless she has decided to remain single, is compelled to pass under a pseudonym. A man's name is transferred from the person to his works; it becomes an impersonal symbol referring to a given poetical achievement. But a woman's names are only a record of her father and her husband or husbands, and seldom relate to her writings.

The maiden names of poets, Edith Thomas, Evaleen Stein, Emma Lazarus, Nora Perry, Harriet Monroe, are simple, dignified, and sufficient ones. Confusion begins with marriage. It does not often happen that poets are wedded like the Stoddards and the Piatts, and contribute to a common fame. More often the man is an outsider and does not deserve his literary celebrity. This comedy of names, always near to being a comedy of errors, was well brought out some years ago when the authorship of the ballad "Rock Me to Sleep, Mother," was brought into question. It was finally traced to Elizabeth Ann Chase Akers Allen, whose father's name was Chase, whose husbands were Akers and Allen, and whose pseudonym — if these disguises were not sufficient! — was "Florence Perry."

The adoption of a *nom de plume* for writers, as for actresses, is perhaps the most satisfactory solution of the difficulty. In a man's case a pseudonym is a too effective disguise; but for women this disguise is less objectionable than their other disguises. Ellen Louise Chandler Moulton, Mary Elizabeth Mapes Dodge, Mary Elizabeth Prescott Spofford, and Ellen Mackay Hutchinson Cortissoz are hardly to be endured; but Mary Elizabeth Moore Hewitt Stebbins and Helen Maria Fiske Hunt Jackson should be ruled out of the court of letters. Surely, our forefathers could not have contemplated the possibility of women's literary independence or that one day they should become heads of houses.

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In examining thus closely the names of our poets, another curious fact is revealed that I do not remember to have noticed in any other "Anthology"—the number of persons bearing identical names. In part this fact signifies the growing poverty of the western world in respect to names, owing to the dying out of male lines, and in part to a tendency for literary talent to collect in family groups. There are no less than six Brown(e)s, five each of Bates, Johnson, and Stoddard, four of Howells, Thompson, Smith, Robinson, and Cook, three of Aldrich, Brooks, Dickinson, Eastman, Fields, and Hawthorne, while duplicates are numerous, among them, Jones, Hay, Channing, Osgood, and Whitman. The literary families are the Hawthornes, the Howellses, the Thompsons, the Aldriches, the Dickinsons, and the Hays.

The emancipatory movement that brought release to the woman-soul has permitted more recently the utterance of the negro-soul, the child-soul, and the soul of the humorist; for not a few poems are in negro dialect, Wynken, Blynken and Nod have more than one poet-laureate, and a considerable company of humorists — with "News from Swat" — fill the pages with smiles and laughter. The American people, being emigrants from a far ancestral home, have been forced to depend upon the native Indian and the imported negro for such folk-lore as they care to enjoy. The Indian has never been more than an interesting subject, to be dealt with from the outside; but the negro has been fused with the mass, taught to speak English, made member of the various churches, and has become a citizen.

In return, the latter has contributed the only genuine folk element in our literature — an element that is utterly alien to the Northern spirit, and mingles with the forms of church and state in the oddest possible way, but which for this reason conveys the sense of the tragic, the picturesque, and the humorous. Our poets have not been slow to appreciate his poetic value. Thomas Nelson Page, Joel Chandler Harris, Frank Stanton, and Howard Weeden have stood in the place of the negro and expressed something of his ideas and sentiments in his own dialect; while Paul Laurence Dunbar, one of the African race, writes genuinely out of his own nature.

The African provides the one absolutely novel feature to this "Anthology," and his further absorption into the life-blood of the people may result in a special differentiation of the English stock. The child again is a recent literary acquisition. We now perceive that the child-songs of Riley and Field are among our most priceless posses-

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sions; and better things may be expected from this source. The child is particularly the opportunity of women, and I believe Mrs. Julia Finch's idyll of "The Unborn" is quite the first song of its kind to appear in any "Anthology." Humor, too, of the genial sort, the effervescence of an unbounding energy that is neither cynical nor perverted, is something new in the history of literature. The emergence of these new themes and types in the last half century pledges America irrevocably to another century of expansion and inclusion.

A most striking fact is the longevity of our poets. The typical American poet — when one thinks of it and notices the faces that look down from his library walls — is found to be an aged, hoary man. Of the eight poets pictured on the frontispiece, six are gray-beards and incline to baldness, and of the black-haired heads, Lanier lived to be 39, and Poe to be 40. No American poet has had the advantage of John Keats of dying young with still enough accomplished to be compared with Shakespeare on the ground of his promise. Many fair hopes centered in Cora Fabri, Anne Aldrich, and Winifred Howells, the youngest of the sisterhood to lay down their pens; but their work was too incomplete to give prophesy of their maturity. Joseph Rodman Drake at 25, Stephen Crane at 29, James Berry Bensel at 30, and Francis Brooks at 31 had hardly begun their true poetic career. Probably our literature sustained its greatest loss in the death of Richard Hovey, who was destined to accomplish great works and to win high renown: at 36 he was just prepared for bold adventure. Timrod and Emma Lazarus had fulfilled much of their promise at 38. Edward Rowland Sill and Bayard Taylor, whose premature deaths were much lamented, had yet time at 46 and 53 to accomplish not a little well-rounded and well-proportioned work. Longfellow, Lowell, Whitman, Story, and Halleck; entered the seventies; Emerson nearly reached the eightieth mark; while Freneau, Whittier, Holmes, and Bryant passed beyond it. Dana lived on into the nineties.

There is something stately and splendid in this procession of age, revealing as it does a large, harmonious life in league with sanity and health. The historian notes also the comparatively small number of tragic lives. Some few sensitive natures, like Poe and Richard Realf, suffered pain and travail, largely the fault of their peculiar temperament; ill health affected the output of some; the Civil War cut short the lives of several; accident closed a few careers; and four suffered violent death at their own hands. But for the great majority the

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currents of life ran smoothly, and, save the ordinary incidents of change, they lived in serenity of spirit.

Many are the sources of inspiration revealed in the two thousand poems of this collection. The constant factor affecting poetic production in this country has been the influence of Nature; she has been in very truth our foster-mother. From the vantage point of the end of the century we perceive how true a pioneer Philip Freneau was in venturing upon natural themes. His "Lines to the Wild Honeysuckle" and "The Honey-Bee" represent the first imaginative treatment of a subject that had subsequent differentiation in the lyrical fantasies of Hovey and Carman, the delicate lights and shadows of Cawein, the intense impressionism of Lanier, the free upland spirit of Garland, the mountain sublimity of the Western poets, the moral meditations of Bryant, the pantheistic strains of Emerson, and the deep cosmic sense of Whitman. The landscape features of New England appear in the pages of Lowell and Emerson; Timrod and Hayne bring the characteristics of the South-land; Piatt and Riley reflect the middle West; Bret Harte and Miller represent the Pacific slope. Whitman declared he discovered the law of his poems in the rock-piled cañon of the Colorado. A nation cannot go far wrong that keeps its heart attuned to Nature's harmonies.

Second to the influence of environment has been the effect of national events and heroes. Our most popular poems are the war lyrics and the national hymns, called forth in times of civic stress. It is significant that the two finest commemoration odes in our literature, Lowell's and Whitman's, relate to Lincoln. Robert Gould Shaw is the subject of one of the best of the recent poems, "An Ode in Time of Hesitation," by William Vaugn Moody. The sailing of Columbus, the heroic incidents of warfare, the founding of States, and the employments of peaceful settlement have received their due celebration in song.

More recently a literature of reform has come into being that is based upon a most hopeful view of future growths and prosperities. Not less impressive is the enthusiasm of our poets for righteousness. Such poems as Holmes's "Chambered Nautilus," Story's "Io Victis," and Sill's "The Fool's Prayer" reflect a moral seriousness that must be almost temperamental in the American people. The hymnal contribution of our poets is quite imposing. Closely related to the moral source of inspiration is the home. "Home, Sweet Home" is, indeed, a distinctively American production. Domestic

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pieces, like Woodworth's "Old Oaken Bucket," Will Carlton's "Nancy," and Riley's "Orphan Annie," abound in the volume. Love songs and poems of family affection are not wanting.

The literary and cultural sources are both numerous and important. Probably more college men will be found on the rôle of American poets than dignify the lists of any other "Anthology." Titles of poems, like "The Sphinx," "Endymion," "Cleopatra," "On a Bust of Dante," "Don Quixote," "Milton," "Lohengrin," "Westminster Abbey," "With Wordsworth at Rydal," "To Shelley," reveal our memories and backward associations. They remind us that we are a people who travel much abroad, and are constant readers of the best literature. Poems written to other poets, and after viewing paintings and hearing music, evidence high culture. The most lacking are scientific knowledge and the cosmic inspirations.

Naturally, the influence of other literatures is seen in form and style as well as in subject. Whittier shows the influence of Burns, Bryant of Wordsworth, and Aldrich of Tennyson. The English ballad and ode forms are our staple poetic moulds. Exotic forms from France suggest considerable influence of an alien kind. The most conspicuous foreign influence proceeds from the Orient. The Orient is the source of most of the renaissance movements of the present day. We have forgotten our classics, but we have opened the Bahagavat Gida. The "Brahma" of Emerson, who was himself a veritable western Brahmin, occurs early in the volume, and prepares the way for Bayard Taylor's "Songs of the Orient," Whitman's "Passage to India," and Torrence's "House of a Hundred Lights," written after reading couplets from Bidpai. The Jewish contribution is also considerable, and Norway, Russia, and Cuba furnish occasional themes.

The sanity and wholesomeness of our poets and their native quality are probably due to the fact that, with few exceptions, they have been active in other directions than the merely literary. Verse-making has been an incident of a strenuous life in more prosaic pursuits. A few men like Madison Cawein have of late years devoted themselves quite assiduously to poetic composition; but I believe Whitman was the only American writer who inscribed "Poet" on his door-plate, and he is the only American who has recorded practically his entire experience in song. This "Anthology" represents, accordingly, the inspiration of moments, the issue of intervals of play, the occupation of holidays. This fact accounts for the lyricism

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of the volume, its transcendentalism, its refinements. American poetry shows better in selections than in complete works of authors.

Mr. Stedman, in the introduction, makes a great deal of the representative nature of the "Anthology" as distinguished from poetry that is absolute in its beauty. "Our own poetry excels," he claims, "as a recognizable voice in utterance of the emotions of a people." This is true, but it is not the whole truth; our poetry is not absolute: neither is it anything like an adequate total expression of our people. It is, in short, a very imperfect record of the American life. Just because it is play-poetry it is more natural and spontaneous, less artificial and formal, more native and original than the output of professional poets, who must sometimes hunt for their themes, and coerce themselves to do their daily work.

I suppose no American ever set himself the task that Browning undertook, to write a poem every day for a given period. Browning was a professional poet, and you may get from him an idea of the total energy of an Englishman. But American poetry is occasional. Glenville Mellen is known as "the singer of one song," and "Waiting" is the one emotional experience John Burroughs has given poetic expression to in a busy lifetime. Hawthorne and Webster are credited with two or three poems carelessly preserved. James Fenimore Cooper wrote perhaps three. Bryant must do his day's work in his office, Lowell and Markham and Burton in a teacher's chair, Bret Harte in the mines, Stedman and Carryl at the Stock Exchange, Cheney at the Library. Field must labor at the "News" office, Ellsworth in invention, Crosby at the bar, Mitchell at the Sanitarium, Collyer at the forge, Brooks and Van Dyke in the pulpit. Cooper and Hawthorne exhausted their energy in fiction. Winter has dramatic criticism to write. Emerson had lectures to deliver. Lanier played the flute in the Baltimore orchestra.

Every profession, indeed, is represented except the profession of letters. Glancing over the index I discover from simply my personal knowledge twenty-five and more editors and journalists, twenty teachers, an equal number of clergymen, a dozen lawyers, a half-score each of physicians, artists, soldiers, and politicians. Writers like Rossiter Johnson, Richard Henry Stoddard, Charles Dudley Warner, and Harry Thurston Peck might be classed as "men of letters"; but they have not contributed the best poetry. Joaquin Miller has followed nearly every vocation. John Pierpont occupied himself successively with teaching, business, the law, and the min-

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istry. Daniel Lewis Dawson figured as a pugilist, and was an iron-founder at the time of his death. Even Thoreau was bred to be a "nonconformer," and he was kept busy herding the wild-stock about Cambridge. Our national songs were composed by lawyers: "The Star Spangled Banner," by Francis Scott Key; "Hail Columbia," by Joseph Hopkinson; "Dixie," by Albert Pike; "The Blue and the Gray," by Francis Miles Finch — occasional poets who left no important writings except these songs. The real energy of America has been directed to practical ends; it has gone into business, into politics, into education, into journalism. This "Anthology," in fine, is only a small measure of the capacities of the American mind. What we have done, what we have thought, and what we have felt, far transcend what we have said or written. Our poetry is not absolute; in the sense in which I have used the term representative it is not even that. The volume betokens the inadequacy of poetic literature to sustain a large and vigorous modern national life; it denotes the transfer of power from the Sayer to the Doer.

One understands better in reading it what Whitman meant when he took the poets of his time to task for their pettiness, their lack of largeness, fibre, vulgar strength, and rudeness. "American poetry," he said, "is an expression of mere surface melody, within narrow limits, and yet, to give it its due, perfectly satisfying to the demands of the ear, of wondrous charm, of smooth and easy delivery, and the triumph of technical art. Above all things, it is fractional and select. It shrinks with aversion from the sturdy, the universal, and the democratic." He characterized Longfellow as "reminiscent, polished, elegant, with the air of finest conventional library, picture-gallery, or parlor, with ladies and gentlemen in them, and plush and rosewood, and ground-glass lamps, and mahogany and ebony furniture, and a silver inkstand, and scented satin paper to write on."

This exactly describes the effect of practically the whole of this volume. One comes upon an unconventional bit like "Little Wild Baby," which Mr. Stedman informs us was repeatedly refused publication by leading periodicals, with a shock of surprise, so little prepared is the reader for any departure from the proprieties. This is but a single proof of the "fractional and select" nature of American poetry; and then the feeling grows that we have yet to discover what America in its full scope means to a poet.

Oscar Lovell Triggs.

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